

The Leader.

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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News of the Week.

INDUSTRY and land are the great questions that almost monopolize public activity just now, while politics flag and Indian mails are eventless; but they do it so extensively and in such various shapes that they leave no want of other matter for agitation. The tenant-right movement, for example, which has had its demonstration in Monaghan, is spreading to other counties, and bids fair to engage the energies of the whole people as generally as the Repeal agitation. Every allusion to a union of the people, without distinction of creeds or parties, was very cordially applauded. Englishmen are aware that in this agitation the land question takes the form of "fixity of tenure"—the movement being one to establish a sort of base tenure like the copyhold which is going out of use with us. But the special nature of the measure demanded is not of first-rate importance: the important fact is, that attention in Ireland is fastened upon the great source of all produce; for special opinion may be modified, and is the more likely to be corrected in proportion as the basis of the movement is practical and substantial.

The particular industrial attempts, such as the enterprise of the Irish Amelioration Society, or the industrial workhouse at Cork, will help to throw new lights on the main question, and to instil vitality into the movement.

The vast enterprise of the *Morning Chronicle*, to make a survey of industry, especially of agriculture, in Europe and America, will give to the same subject a very comprehensive extension. The journal professes a present suspension of judgment on the points raised by the enquiry, with a willingness to draw the requisite conclusions at the close. We have not yet had from that authority any general conclusions on the evidence already collected; but "we can wait;" and the larger the data the larger the inferences are likely to be. For the candour and honesty of the *Chronicle* we vouch with the utmost satisfaction; to the immense utility of the enquiry the whole country testifies; and whatever the specific conclusion of the journalist may be, we have no doubt that his readers will draw their own inferences. Indeed, we hold that the *Chronicle* has contributed in a very effective manner to the striking and rapid development of opinion on subjects of economy, industry, and land, during the last year; and the sequel is beyond the controul of any journal or party. The *Chronicle* might take the lead among the daily press in representing the new opinion which is now struggling to develop itself; or the journalist may waive the magnificent opportunity offered to him: but the subject itself is fairly in the grasp of the public, and will not be dropped. At no distant day, we suspect, the English farmers and labourers will join in the movement; and then it will not be long before journalists of all parties are forced to join in the discussion, in which

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

the *Weekly Dispatch* already bears so signal a part.

Before discussions and agitations of this vast nature the petty intrigues of Governments sink into insignificance, and the struggle for personal ambition going on in France becomes doubly odious. While English poor-law guardians, Irish agitators, and London journalists are exploring and debating one of the questions that most vitally interest mankind, Denmark is coquetting with the Peace Association, which may prove very convenient in helping the Danish Monarch to back out of his untenable position; but clear sincerity and perfectly honest purpose are scarcely to be expected from a Prince who has already behaved so ill. Whatever the result of these coquettings, it is a startling fact that, after the leading diplomatists of Europe have tried, it would seem vainly, to revive an Absolutist conspiracy against the Duchies, they are forced, at least in semblance, to defer to the opinion and volunteer office of an English corn-merchant and an American blacksmith.

A new charge is brought against Prince Louis Napoleon—that of systematically seeking to corrupt the army by regales of sausages and champagne! Certain it is that those viands have been distributed to French soldiers, and it is averred that Prince Louis Napoleon has avowed his criminal intention; but, even if it were true, there is something so absurd in the notion of winning over the army by donations of sausage and wine, in very moderate quantities, that no awe can be felt towards the quasi-royal manœuvre.

Occurrences nearer home suggest very painful reflections concerning our own army. The immoralities detected among the military pupils at Woolwich and Carshalton are alarming in their nature and extent. It would seem that two Government schools are working so that we run the chance of seeing our army supplied with demoralized and degenerate officers; those officers to be the guides and controllers of the uneducated soldiery! Of course, the severe penalties that have been inflicted on individuals at Woolwich and Carshalton, will be followed by measures to improve the *system*,—not only, we should say, in the school routine or in the personal staff of officers, but also generally in the management of the young. We have treated this subject, however, in a separate paper.

Crimes of violence have been unusually rife, and in two instances they have been the more startling from the peaceful character and retired abode of those whom they have visited. The Reverend Mr. Hollest, a country clergyman, is waked in the night, with his wife, by two masked ruffians, who try to prevent their raising an alarm. They eventually succeed, and the robbers depart; but not before they have mortally wounded Mr. Hollest. The attack on the Reverend Mr. Vidal is of the same sort, although his more ready yielding induced the robbers not to kill him. The case with

which the thieves entered both houses, and the art with which in Mr. Hollest's they arranged for their own escape, by setting all the doors open, suggest a very considerable development of the burglarious *profession* amongst us; far more than accords with the general indifference to the chances of midnight invasion. In fact, however, such thieves may be said never to break into houses where there is not some valuable plunder that can be easily carried off; and where such goods are, proper precautions should be taken to keep out intruders—so long as excessive inequalities of wealth, the oppressed state of labour, and pangs of want, supply the motives for violently snatching at the good things which happen to be in the hands of others. Mr. Vidal made a trial of the influence to be obtained by threatening one of the thieves, who saw himself safe from immediate annoyance, with his sentence and retribution in "the other world"; but it did not appear that the criminal had any sufficient belief in the remote contingency to make him forego the present plunder. Mr. Vidal must have conceived practical doubts whether, after all, the chaplain can be effective as the sole "moral policeman" of society; whether a little secular education might not have taught this robber to use his energies better, and not to employ them in a thriftless trade, *always* visited, even in this world, with some practical retribution.

The search for Sir John Franklin has at last come upon traces of his vessels, and in the very spot where it was thought likely that the first traces might be found. The *North Star* brings home a rumour that Sir John's party had had an encounter with the native Esquimaux, and had all been murdered. This statement rests on a circuitous narrative, derived in the first instance from an Esquimaux connected with one of the searching parties, and by him passed to a Danish interpreter; which interpreter represents that in repetition the story was so altered as to be incredible: and it does seem probable that it was based on some casual meeting between the Natives and the *North Star* itself—which is quite safe. But Sir John Ross insists that the Esquimaux has been overborne by the Danish interpreter, who purposely browbeat and misrepresented the man. It is subsequently to this that traces of the *Erebus* and *Terror* have been found, though not in such position as to discredit the story of the murder. At the worst, however, that story rests on the doubtful authority of Esquimaux, strangers to those whom Sir John Ross's party had met. The search is still prosecuted, and there seems every reason to hope that it will not be given up till the fate of Sir John Franklin and his companions has been positively ascertained. That he should, as it were, have *dodged* the several searches, by going round to Behring's Straits, *very slowly*, is rendered improbable, since he had scarcely provision enough to support exertions so protracted; but he *may* still be quiescent and economizing in the depths of the icy regions.

THE TENANT-RIGHT MOVEMENT.

The Monaghan Demonstration, in favour of tenant-right, which took place at Ballibay on Tuesday, is said to have been the most remarkable meeting, in point of numbers, in the annals of the northern province. Unlike the previous gatherings in the south, hundreds of the better class of farmers, Protestant and Roman Catholic, were present, and arrived on the ground marching rank and file in good order, the bands of music playing alternately the spirit-stirring airs of "Garryowen" and "The Boyne Water." At the very lowest computation there were not less than 15,000 human beings assembled together on this important occasion. Several of the Catholic clergy and Presbyterian ministers of the county were also present, and united most cordially in supporting the good cause. Nor was the landlord class wholly unrepresented. A few of the most respectable and independent landowners in the county, who were wise enough to see that their prosperity must depend on that of the people, made their appearance on the platform and took an active part in the proceedings.

The deputation from the south, and the council of the League, consisting of Mr. John Francis Maguire, of the *Cork Examiner*, Mr. Duffy, Mr. Shea Lalor, and Mr. Delamere, were received with a hearty and enthusiastic welcome. The chair was taken by Mr. Thomas McEvoy Gartlan, of Carrickmacross, an extensive landowner of the county. The resolutions adopted were similar to those passed at the meetings in Wexford and Kilkenny, with an additional one, declaring that if the county members do not support the principles of the League they will be rejected at the next election. Letters were read from Mr. Cobden, Mr. Poulett Scrope, and Mr. Sharman Crawford, "expressing their earnest desire for the success of the movement."

The speeches were loudly applauded by the people, and in particular every allusion to union was the signal for a spontaneous, enthusiastic, and sustained shout of approbation. Everything passed off with the utmost order and regularity; and, if the enemies of tenant-right calculated on anything to the contrary, they were greatly mistaken. At the conclusion of the meeting the people insisted on placing the Reverend Mr. Bell in the chair and carrying him in triumph to his residence, preceded by the band, and followed by the immense concourse.

After the meeting a soirée took place in an extensive pavilion, erected for the purpose, and tastefully decorated. The attendance was very numerous. A large number of ladies were present.

The *Kilkenny Journal* announces that the following counties are now in the thick of their preliminary arrangements for their county meetings: the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Louth, Cavan; the county of Down is preparing itself; the county of Sligo is likewise engaged.

THE WORKHOUSE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IN IRELAND.

The great practical question of how to employ able-bodied paupers in such a way as to pay for the cost of their maintenance, at least, seems now in a fair way of being solved by the people of Ireland. By a judicious system of management, it appears that the burden of the poor rate in Cork has not only been greatly diminished, but that the workhouse is now, to a considerable extent, self-sustaining. From an elaborate report in the *Daily News*, we learn that, the organization of labour was forced upon the poor-law guardians of Cork by the intolerable pressure of the rates, which were swallowing up the means of the industrious tradesmen. After trying every effort to reduce the expenditure, by changing the dietary, reducing officers' salaries, and all other modes in which parsimony can be exercised, they at last hit upon the introduction of industrial occupations. Their first attempts, which were on a small scale, were very unsuccessful. By perseverance, however, and the appointment of a wise and energetic master, they have at last succeeded in effecting a great improvement in the character of the inmates, and a considerable reduction in the rates. The following account of the present state of things by the *Daily News* reporter, is full of interest:—

"Backed by the warm support of the intelligent members of the board, the master went on extending the system of in-door industry. Well-ventilated and commodious workshops were erected on the premises: the grounds, which previously presented a rugged and disagreeably uneven surface, were levelled and trimmed in, and hundreds of the able-bodied were set to healthy and cheerful occupation, which they gladly accepted as a relief from that rickening and oppressive idleness in which they were previously compelled to drag along the tedious hours of their wearisome existence. The prison-like gloom and silence that previously hung over the establishment quickly gave place to the merry hum of industrial occupation, whilst the altered appearance presented by the inmates of all classes unmistakably evinces how beneficial has been the change."

"On entering the workhouse premises, the first branch of the in-door industrial system that presents itself is that at which the female paupers find occupation. In the spinning-room, a spacious and airy apartment, may be seen some 200 women and grown-up girls busily engaged in working up flax, which article has of late come

into very general use. In an adjoining room are engaged about 100 more, carding and spinning wool, whilst in the sewing room upwards of 150 find employment in knitting shawls and making up the female apparel worn by the inmates of the establishment. The hours of labour are from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon, when the adult females leave off, and then follow, for a few hours each evening, the younger girls and children, who are thus at a tender age—the age most susceptible of receiving impressions, whether for good or evil—trained up to industrial pursuits, and instructed in occupations befitting their condition, and by the exercise of which they have it in their power to render themselves hereafter useful; and, it may be, happy and prosperous members of society. The average quantity of work per day performed by each adult female at a spinning-wheel, is, of wool, three-fourths of a pound, and of flax about half a pound; thus, many thousands of pounds of excellent material are prepared for the weavers' loom, there to be rendered into substantial frieze, flannel, and ticken, the first cost of the raw material being the only expense incurred."

"Then, in the men's department are to be found some score of looms busily engaged in working up the fabric previously prepared by the women, as well as weaving blankets, rugs, sheeting, ginghams, checks, frieze, flannel, and ticken, as previously mentioned. The result is, that in store are piled up many thousands of yards of every article suited for the apparel, as well as bedding, of the inmates, and in such abundance, that any establishment of double the extent and numbers could at an hour's notice be furnished with a complete stock of outfit—all produced by pauper labour, and at the bare cost of the raw material—did the commissioners sanction such a disposal of the produce. Formerly these fabrics were manufactured in England and Scotland, and purchased from houses here, where they were retailed; so that the manufacture of them at present by the paupers cannot be said to interfere with the profits of the local trader."

"Nor is that gentle craft which claims as its patron and originator 'Old Father Adam'—the tailoring—neglected. Scores of intelligent youths are trained to sit cross-legged, and 'ply the ponderous bar,' and a downright aptitude they seem to evince in mastering the intricacies of the royal game of 'goose,' whilst the superabundant 'cabbage' is worked up into a comfortable description of cap, so that the outer man of the male paupers presents a most unique and uniform appearance. Shoes and clogs are also made in-doors, as well as the tin utensils used at meal times. In the grinding of corn the erection of a mill on the premises has saved the union over £300 a-year, as well as furnished the inmates with a healthful and vigorous exercise. The mill, which is about 10-horse power, is worked on the capstan principle by about 100 men, or a proportionate number of adult boys or girls. The labour is apportioned as follows:—The able-bodied males, 5 hours per day; the adult boys, 3 hours; the able-bodied females, 2 hours; and the adult or grown-up girls, 1 hour per day. The quantity of corn ground in the week is 120 sacks, which milled alone at 1s. per sack would come to £6 per week, or over £300 per annum, which sum is now saved to the establishment, less a trifling salary paid a miller. On visiting the millhouse I found about 150 boys, apparently from the years of 12 to 15, all working away, churning in a sort of quick step air, evidently composed to suit that or similar labour, and seeming to relish their occupation mightily. The flour is subsequently baked into bread by pauper labour, the cost of the 4lb. loaf being less than 3d. The following summary extracted from the quarterly report submitted a short time since to the board, will show at a glance the quantity and variety of articles manufactured free of all expense, save the cost of the raw material, as also evince the beneficial result of turning to useful and active account tastes and energies suffered too long to lie dormant because possessed by the mere inmates of workhouse establishments:—

"555,880lb. bread (half household, half brown), at an average cost of less than 3d. per 4lb.; 2240lb. ship biscuit for emigrants, 100 pair of blankets, 2675 yards of strong flannel, 439 yards of 6-4 wide ruggings, 58 yards of 6-4 wide frieze, 100 pairs of woollen stockings, 133 yards of gingham, 152 yards of calico, 82 cotton shawls, 139 woollen ditto (knitted), 699 yards of linen sheeting, 1624 yards of strong sackings, 403 yards of ticken, 96 pairs men's shoes, 125 pairs women's shoes, 20 pairs boys' and girls' shoes, 100 pairs clogs, 201lb. sewing thread, 1lb. shoemaker's hemp, &c.; 55 M. nails, 6 dozen tin dishes, carpenter's work, smith's work, mason's work, &c., as required."

"It will not be denied that in this report is to be found balm for the wounded pockets of the ratepayers; and as a striking result of the adoption of the industrial system I may mention that, previous to its introduction, the cost of maintenance per week of each pauper was 1s. 4d.; at present it comes to a decimal fraction over 1s.—those who may take the trouble of calculating the amount of 4d. per week over the year on from 4000 to 5000 inmates will arrive at the saving effected to the Cork ratepayers."

"As a consequence of this, together with the continued health of the potato crop in this part of the country, the poor rate, which in 1847, 1848, and 1849 rose to 4s. and 4s. 6d. in the pound, will not, in all probability, exceed 2s. in the pound in the present year."

"I should not omit to mention that the poor-law commissioners have come to regard the industrial system so favourably, that they have permitted the board to negotiate for the possession of a moderate-sized farm, whereon to develop the agricultural talent of the rural paupers; and it may be that, by and by, some of them will come to be tenders of prize rams and plethoric bullocks; though, to realize Dr. Johnson's notion of the condition of such buccolics, 'who tend fat oxen should themselves be fat.'"

"That the Cork workhouse may now be regarded as a model institution, the number of complimentary entries in the visitors' book, as well as the respectability and

rank of the parties subscribing them, attest. Amongst the latest visitors was Mr. Hayter, M.P., treasury secretary, who closely examined the industrial departments, accompanied by Mr. Fagan, M.P., and expressed himself highly satisfied at the result; a complimentary letter addressed by the honourable gentleman to the master of the house further attests the satisfaction which the visit and scrutiny afforded him."

THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

Intelligence of a startling but confused nature has been brought from the Arctic Regions—by the North Star, which arrived at Spithead on Saturday the 28th of September, and by the Prince Albert, which reached Aberdeen on the following Tuesday. A report has gained ground of the destruction of Sir John Franklin's vessels, and the murder of all hands by the natives; and although the different statements given by the Esquimaux are very contradictory, the fear that in the one great particular they may be too true is strengthened by the fact that remains of a vessel have been found, which in all probability was the Erebus or Terror."

The North Star was beset with ice in July last, on the east side of Melville Bay, and, during two months of extreme peril from the massive floes and bergs, drifted as far to the northward as Wolestenholme Island. The sound being free from ice at the time, sail was made for a secure bay, where the ship anchored, and was housed over for the winter."

The ice soon formed a communication between the vessel and the shore, whither numbers of the crew occasionally resorted for the purpose of shooting hares, foxes, &c. Some Esquimaux visited the ship, and one man was brought on board with his feet so frozen that they dropped off. He was attended and cured by Dr. Ray, but died six weeks after, of a pulmonary disease."

On the 1st of August the North Star was liberated from her tedious imprisonment, and she sailed from Wolestenholme Sound. But in Ross's Bay she again got into pack ice, where she remained beset for days. She then succeeded in getting through it, and reached on the 8th of August Possession Bay, near the entrance of Lancaster Sound, where notices of the North Star's arrival and state were landed. Proceeding up Lancaster Sound, opposite to Prince Regent's Inlet, to Whaler Point, she anchored there on the 13th. She remained off Wheeler Point, endeavouring to get in for twenty-four hours, but the ice was too closely packed along the coast, and, there being no chance of a break-up, notices were landed, and the North Star proceeded to the opposite coast to endeavour to land provisions at Port Bowen, Port Niel, or Jackson's Islet, but all these places were so completely blocked up with heavy land-floes of ice that the ship could not get in to either place; she, therefore, bore away for Navy Board Inlet, in lat. 73 deg. 44 min. N., long. 80 deg. 50 min. W., and in a small bay named Supply Bay, in the inlet, she landed her surplus provisions—covering up the tea and other dry articles, and leaving the proper notices and directions of their whereabouts. She remained here five days, and then went to Pond's Bay."

On the 21st of August, at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, the North Star fell in with and communicated with the Lady Franklin, Captain Penny, and her tender, the Sophia, all well. Captain Penny reported that Captain Austin's ships had got through the ice in Melville Bay, on the 15th of August, and she had left them on the 17th off Cape Dudley Digges; that some of the vessels would proceed, if the ice would permit, through Barrow's Straits, to examine and explore Banks's Land."

On the 22nd August the North Star spoke the Felix, Captain Sir John Ross, an abridgement of whose despatch we now submit:—

"After obtaining an Esquimaux interpreter at Holsteinborg, and calling at Whale-fish Islands, the Felix discovery yacht, with her tender the Mary, proceeded northward through the Wargat Strait, and overtook her Majesty's ships under the command of Captain Austin on the 11th of August; and on the 12th the senior officer and the second in command having cordially communicated with me on the best mode of performing the service on which we are mutually embarked, that arrangements were made and concluded for a simultaneous examination of every part of the eastern side of a north-west passage in which it was probable that the missing ships could be found, documents to that effect were exchanged, and subsequently assented to by Captains Forsyth and Penny."

"On the 13th of August natives were discovered on the ice near to Cape York, Lieutenant Cator, in the Intrepid, was detached on the part of Captain Austin, and on my part Commander Phillips, with our Esquimaux interpreter, in the whaleboat of the Felix. It was found by Lieutenant Cator that Captain Penny had left with the natives a note for Captain Austin, but only relative to the state of the navigation; however, when Commander Phillips arrived, the Esquimaux, seeing one apparently of their own nation in the whaleboat, came immediately to him, when a long conversation took place, the purport of which could not be made known, as the interpreter could not explain himself to any one either in the Intrepid or the whaleboat (as he understands only the Danish besides his own language), until he was brought on board the Prince Albert, where his information was deemed of such importance that Captain Commaney,

Phillips, and Forsyth proceeded in the Intrepid to the Resolute. It was decided by Captain Austin to send for the Danish interpreter of the Lady Franklin, which, having been unsuccessful in an attempt at getting through the ice to the westward, was only a few miles distant. In the meantime it was known that, in addition to the first information, a ship (which could only be the North Star) had wintered in Wolestenholme Sound, called by the natives Ourinak, and had only left it a month ago. This proved to be true, but the interpretation of the Dane was totally at variance with the information given by the other, who, although for obvious reasons he did not dare to contradict the Dane, subsequently maintained the truth of his statement, which induced Captain Austin to despatch the Intrepid with Captains Ommanney and Phillips, taking with them both our interpreters, Adam Beck and a young native who had been persuaded to come as one of the crew of the Assistance and examine Wolestenholme Sound. In the meantime it had been unanimously decided that no alteration should be made in our previous arrangement, it being obvious that while there remained a chance of saving the lives of those of the missing ships who may be yet alive a further search for those who had perished should be postponed, and accordingly the Resolute, Pioneer, and Prince Albert parted company on the 15th.

Sir John Ross concludes with a high testimony to the services of Commander Phillips, Commodore Austin, and Captain Ommanney, and speaks with gratitude of the cordiality and courtesy manifested by other officers in command.

The North Star communicated on the 30th of August with the Prince Albert, Commander Forsyth, who stated that he had been trying to get into Port Niel and other places, but was prevented by the land ice; that he had seen Captain Austin's ships in Wellington Channel; that Captain Austin had gone in the Intrepid steamer to explore some parts of the coast, and would visit Pond's Bay; that one of the small American searching-vessels was on shore near Barrow's Bay, but, as the captain had declined the assistance offered by the Prince Albert, it was supposed she would come off without damage.

The latest accounts given by Commander Forsyth of the Prince Albert, come down to August the 26th. On that day he bore up in Wellington Channel and sent Mr. Snow to examine Cape Reilly, where the remains of an encampment, consisting of five or six tents were found, and these Mr. Snow knew to have belonged to a ship in her Majesty's service. The Assistance had been there two days before and had left a notice.

Mr. Snow states that among the traces found was a rope with the Woolwich mark, evidently belonging to a vessel which had been fitted out at Woolwich, as were both the Erebus and the Terror. The positions of the several ships as last seen by the Prince Albert were as follows:—

"The Assistance as near as possible within Cape Hotham—Penny's two ships, the Lady Franklin and Sophia, in the mid-channel—the American brigantine Rescue close beset with ice near Cape Bowen. These were the only vessels to be seen there. The Intrepid could not be seen, but she was doubtless in company with the Assistance. The ice was very heavy, and extended all round, from Prince Leopold's Island to Cape Farewell, westward, so as to prevent any possibility of reaching Cape Walker; Cape Hotham might be reached with difficulty. In Wellington Channel there was a great deal of ice, but it admitted of passages being made, in which the ships were working; and Captain Penny was pushing up the channel boldly."

THE OVERLAND MAIL.

The political news received from India by the Overland Bombay Mail contains nothing very interesting. Up to the latest dates, the Sikhs, the Afghans, and all the other troublesome tribes of that vast territory remained quiet. The Indian papers are discussing the financial condition of the Company, which does not seem to be in a very thriving condition. Previous to the Afghan war there was an annual surplus of about a million; since then there has been an annual deficit of as large an amount; for the last financial year the balance-sheet shows a deficit of above £2,250,000.

Sir Charles Napier was at Simla, whence he had issued several of his customary smart and severe general orders. Some of the papers affect to doubt whether he really intends to return home; but the prevailing opinion is, that he will make his way to Bombay and there embark for England.

Among the gossip brought by the late arrival, we find the following correspondence between a clergyman and an officer regarding a breach of the third commandment:—

"To F. F. Courtenay, Esq.

"Sir,—On Wednesday evening, at Colonel Mountain's party, some time after the ladies had retired from the dining-room, I heard you give utterance to the exclamation, 'Good God!' upon which I left the room.

"I feel it my duty as a clergyman to remind you that exclamations and expletives of this kind are a breach of the Third Commandment; and I also considered it my right as a member of society to complain of your use of an expression which is offensive to all religiously disposed men. Profane language, I need not inform you, is objected to in the present age, not only on the ground of religion, but also because it violates the first principle

of propriety, which is, not to offend the feelings of any one without necessity.

"I wish to add that I have not mentioned the subject of this note to any person; and if you are disposed to apologise for the use of the words of which I have complained, I shall not do more than mention the mere fact of my having written to you, and of your regretting the expression.

"But if you should decline doing this, I shall send a copy of this note to all those gentlemen who were present on Wednesday evening.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"CHAS. J. QUARTLEY.

"Simla, Friday, August 2nd, 7 a.m."

"Simla, August 2, half-past eight, a.m.

"Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving the note of this morning's date, which, under pretence of duty, you have thought fit to address to me.

"I consider your intrusion an unwarrantable impertinence; but have not the slightest objection to your giving the fullest publicity both to your own ridiculous pretensions and to my treatment of them.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"F. F. COURTENAY.

"Reverend C. J. Quartley."

The publication of the above correspondence has given rise to a great deal of talk, but no further proceedings had been taken in the matter.

DESTRUCTION OF FRIEDRICHSTADT.

The Holsteiners have at last begun to act upon the offensive in good earnest. On the night of the 26th ultimo, the Schleswig-Holstein army broke up its camp to move on Friedrichstadt. A general attack upon the city commenced on the morning of the 29th, the guns being so planted on both banks of the Eider as to assail the Danish batteries and entrenchments without inflicting serious damage on the city. The bombardment was carried on from two different points, and was vigorously kept up till ten at night. At two o'clock a bulletin from the besieging army announced the capture of Tonningen by one of the division, which had also taken fifty-four prisoners. The town of Friedrichstadt was said to be on fire in several places on the night of the 29th. The Danes, who had retired to the fortress, were making a desperate defence, and the fire of the besiegers was kept up with redoubled vigour. The latest bulletin from the army announced the arrival at Lunden of 163 Danish soldiers and four officers, made prisoners during the 28th and 29th.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

A partial change of Ministry has suddenly taken place at Berlin. On the 26th ultimo, Baron Von Schleinitz was (on his own request of the 18th) relieved from the direction of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and on the same day Lieutenant-General Radowitz was appointed to fill the vacant office. Since that change the king has shown a desire to pursue a more determined policy than before; and as the present Minister (Radowitz) has from his first appointment as an official always displayed the most determined enmity to the policy of Austria relative to the German confederation, the present change is not likely to produce a good understanding between the two rivals for the German supremacy—Prussia and Austria. The question now is, whether the Premier Manteuffel, who, equally with every other person, was taken by surprise, and who for a length of time occupied a position antagonistic to that of Radowitz, and who indeed was the Premier *de facto*, will continue to remain in office.

The Austrian Government has declined to adopt the proposal of Prussia to convoke the States of Germany to a general conference for the purpose of settling the differences respecting the constitution or Germany, as appears from a note from Prince Schwarzenburg, to the Berlin Cabinet, bearing date Vienna, September 15.

It is stated that the Austrian Cabinet has lately advised the Pope to assume a more conciliatory bearing towards Sardinia, for, if he do not, the King of Prussia is resolved to adopt Protestantism.

THE LIND MANIA.

The excitement about Jenny Lind continues as great as ever in New York. Her first concert, on the evening of the 11th ultimo, realized £5200 sterling, and the enthusiasm of the spectators and auditors was almost indescribable. She subsequently presented £200 to the Musical Fund Society, which made her a life member in return. M. M. Loder and Benedict received similar honour, and M. Benedict, in replying, proclaimed that in Europe he should speak of the New York orchestra as second to none. The fruits of the second concert were £4400. The third was to take place on the 18th, when Mademoiselle Lind would sing the "Herdman's Mountain Song." She was living in a quiet, secluded manner at the New York Hotel. She rode out every evening with her cousin and secretary. Invitations of all sorts were constantly coming for her, but she declined the greater number of them.

On the night after her first concert, the German *Leiderkranz* marched in procession to her residence, where they gave her a vocal serenade. After the conclusion they were invited to Jenny's parlour, and

a committee presented an address to her. Miss Lind listened attentively to the performance, and expressed her sincere thanks for the attention paid to her. She conversed in a friendly manner with the gentlemen, and said, among others, "O Germany! how beautiful, how charming it is; but where is its liberty? Surely, gentlemen, you all wish to return soon to your sweet fatherland, the land of music and of poetry?" "No, never!" was the unanimous answer; "here we feel happy and free—here we will become good citizens." "Without poetry?" she asked. "O Fraulein! you will find poetry here also." She finally expressed her desire to see the *Leiderkranz* perform a chorus in one of her concerts, to which the gentlemen readily assented.

As a specimen of the extravagant style in which New York newspapers speak of the Swedish girl, we quote the following description of the second concert, which took place on the 13th ultimo:—

"By eight o'clock the vast area of Castle-garden was completely filled, and every effort was made on the part of the management to give perfect satisfaction to the immense mass assembled to hear the great cantatrice. Not less than six thousand persons were present. A vast sea of heads swayed to and fro, sparkling beneath the starry lights in the firmament of song, here and there thickly sprinkled with the foam of beauty, anxiously expecting the Aphrodite of music to rise amid the waves, while the Tritons, with their horns and sonorous shells, in awkward groups hung around the scene, immediately to be graced by her advent. The introductory music having been performed she appeared, while every wave of humanity trembled with excitement, and the great sea heaved with delight, and clapped its hands for joy." The goddess of the people stood before them."

The New York papers state that she has appropriated her share of the profits of the first concert, being at least 10,000 dollars, to several charitable institutions in that city. The whole of her receipts in America, according to the *Herald*, are to be devoted to the establishment of free schools in Sweden and Norway.

MILITARY DEBAUCHERY.

With the exception of the Bonapartist journals, the universal French press is condemning Louis Napoleon's miserable attempts to seduce the soldiery by distributing food and wine among them. The *Union* affirms that a deliberate attempt is made to seduce the army by marks of attention. "It is caressed, excited, and encouraged to cry, 'Vive Napoleon!' 'Vive l'Empereur!' in the midst of its libations." The *National* treats the affair as a subject for ridicule merely. After the first part of the review on Thursday, it says:—

"Between the acts we had precisely the same interlude as on Sunday. Twelve loaves, twelve sausages, twelve bottles of champagne, and a large bundle of cigars were distributed among every twenty-five men. In afterwards filing past the President, the ardour of the troops was very great; and on their return to Versailles the observers had an opportunity of settling the question whether the authorities were not wrong in forgetting, when organizing the regimental schools, to consecrate a chapter to the influence of sausages, of cigars, and of champagne on the appearance of troops when on their march. Besides this, we may state that this sort of exercise is not altogether displeasing to the troops. The only one that has to complain is the cashier of the Elysée; but M. Fould is so complaisant, that he will find the means of slipping this little supplementary demand among the expenses of the campaign. And why should the Assembly refuse it? Does it not fall within the system of the presidential policy that Louis Napoleon should be less a warrior than—a restaurateur?"

The papers in the interest of the President contend that the quantity of wine allowed to each soldier was so small that it could not have been given with a view to intoxicate them. Half a bottle of champagne to each soldier was a very small affair in their eyes. They admit that the officers and subalterns had cold fowls and champagne at the expense of Louis Napoleon, but they say nothing about the sausages and cigars for the common soldiers.

The *Corsaire* was much more bitter in its satire than the *National*. It compared the Hero of Strasbourg with his uncle, in the following biting article:—

"A salary of 500,000f. was abundantly sufficient for the expenses of the First Consul, who combined the greatest glory with the simplicity of the manners of Washington. In our days, millions are not enough for a President. He has already been obliged to extend his hand, which had narrowly escaped being rejected, and soon the emptied box will be presented again. We must do to certain persons the justice to say that they drink healths and smoke with the first comers—private soldier or general, it is all the same to them. Napoleon felt disgust at swillers and gluttons as well as at smokers. He was never seen handing a cigar to a soldier, and during his reviews there was no champagne nor grilled fowls. He was not the flatterer of the soldiers, and he regarded them only with glory. To his troops, when attenuated by hunger, and who cried, 'Bread, bread,' the young general of the army of Italy replied, 'Bread! before eight days you shall have it, and to spare.' This uncomfortable consolation was sufficient. That bread so long waited for, came. But, in the meantime, the enemy appeared. As at Malplaque, the bread was cast away, the soldiers rushed into fire, they beat the Austrians, and then returned gaily to eat a morsel of barley bread moistened with spring water."

Since that time, when people were fed with glory, how cookery has progressed! On the 18th Brumaire, General Bonaparte, in answer to those who demanded guarantees, cried, "Grenadiers, have I ever deceived you when I promised you victory?" In our day, in similar circumstances, the reply would be, "Grenadiers, have I ever deceived you when I promised you good cheer?" In the time of the Emperor, to obtain a decoration, it was necessary to have deserved it—such little importance was set on the recognition of services to come. In the baggage of Napoleon there were no barrels of crosses by way of provision, and no shovels to distribute them. Yet, let us not be deceived, the era of the Cæsars, predicted by a guest of the Elysée, has commenced. It has been already remarked that soup makes the soldier. In our day, and with perfectly liberal views, champagne, truffled fowls, and Havannah cigars, form the matériel of reviews. But is the gratitude of a full stomach more lively or more lasting than that of the heart? In their decline the Roman soldiers touched the stomachs of their officers, and flung away the helmet and the cuirass, which had become too heavy for their effeminacy. In our days, disregard for discipline and forgetfulness of glory would be still worse, and, what is the saddest of all, the disorder comes from a high quarter. A society of the 10th of December would seem to the Emperor a strange means of Government. Disorder under the appellation of beneficence! I repeat to you that, in our days, if the sword of Austerlitz do not end in an old curiosity shop, it will be turned into a spit, and that of the Elysée into a larding-pin. The buckler of Francis I. will become a turbot-dish, and his cuirass a frying-pan. The glorious sword of Aumale and of Ivrey, which already fell into the hands of a chiffonnier of July, will become a bacon knife, and the column of July be made into pots."

For this article the *Corsaire* has been seized both at its offices and at the Post-office, by the Procureur de la République. A prosecution has also been instituted against M. Courtois, writer of the article, and M. Laurent, proprietor of the journal.

A FRENCH DESPERADO.

About a fortnight ago, the French authorities were informed that the rioters or conspirators who caused so much alarm in the department of the Drôme a short time previously, had taken refuge in the department of the Ardèche. Intelligence was also communicated that a secret manufactory of gunpowder had been carried on for some time in that district, in the house of a man named Soubeyran, renowned for energy of character and desperate personal courage, and who had announced his intention to shoot any soldier or police agent who should attempt to take him into custody. With a view to secure this man and his associates, a regular military expedition was planned by General Lapene and the military authorities on the other side of the Rhone. Their well-planned scheme was frustrated, however, so far as Soubeyran was concerned, by a daring feat, which reminds one of that stirring passage in Sir Walter Scott's novel, where Rob Roy makes his escape while crossing a river, by swimming and diving till he had distanced his pursuers.

The military preparations to apprehend the French outlaw and his comrades were on the most extensive scale. There was a strong detachment of horse artillery, and four companies of infantry, reinforced by smaller detachments of other two foot regiments. In addition to these, there were several detachments of the gendarmerie of the department under the command of the Prefect. This formidable army, after marching all night, arrived at the scene of action a little before daybreak:—

"At five o'clock the Prefect, accompanied by his men, proceeded to the residence of Soubeyran, knocked at the door, and summoned him in the name of the law, to come forth and surrender himself a prisoner. No answer was made. Knowing the desperate character of Soubeyran, the Prefect had disposed of his men so as to cut off his escape, and four gendarmes were stationed at the door, two on each side, ready to seize him the moment he made his appearance; whilst the Prefect himself, a man of much determination, stood in front with a pistol loaded and cocked in his hand. During the short silence that intervened a noise was heard inside, and close to the door, as of the loading of a gun, and the ringing of a steel ramrod in the barrel. After the lapse of some minutes, and when the Prefect was about to repeat his summons, the door was suddenly flung open, and Soubeyran, in his shirt sleeves, a red silk handkerchief twisted round his head, his throat bare, and with sandals on his feet, stepped to the threshold, and presented himself before them. One hand grasped a blunderbuss, the other was extended forward. He evidently did not expect to see so many prepared to prevent his escape, and his surprise made him hesitate a moment. This hesitation, short as it was, in all probability prevented the shedding of blood; and the Prefect profiting by it, rushed at him in an instant, seized with one hand the arm which held the blunderbuss, and with the other put a pistol to his temples. At the same time he again summoned him to surrender. The gendarmes who were stationed at the door were in the act of advancing to enforce the capture, when Soubeyran by a sudden and violent movement freed himself from the grasp of the man who held him, drew back a few paces (still with his face to his antagonists), then turned quickly, still with blunderbuss in hand; leaped over a table and some chairs, burst through a door, the rebound of which impeded for a moment his pursuers, reached a window which hung over the water, and bursting through it, dashed into the Rhone that was rolling turbid, cold, and dark, below, and disappeared

amidst its waves. The troops who were stationed outside ran at once to the bridge, and twenty or thirty of the horsemen were in a moment on the opposite side, while others lined the near bank.

"Once or twice the end of the red handkerchief which bound the outlaw's head was seen in the uncertain light of daybreak on the surface of the water; but Soubeyran himself was never since beheld. The troops watched long on both banks of the river, expecting to see him attempt to land. It was all useless. With respect to his fate there is some uncertainty. It is not known whether he perished in the dangerous current that shoots between the arches of the bridge, or whether he was able, by swimming for a considerable time under water, to find a shelter in the hollow of the rocks that in that part hang over the stream; at all events, dead or alive, he has not since been seen or heard of.

"In his house was found a manufactory of gunpowder admirably organized; and a large quantity of which was perfectly prepared, and ready for use, a part also made up into cartridges."

But, though they failed in arresting Soubeyran, they captured a number of others who were said to have been mixed up in the late disturbances. The whole of the neighbourhood was scoured by the mounted gendarmerie and troops; and the result is, according to the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, that, "the villages along the Rhone which were known to be the haunt of agitators and Socialists, were swept clear, and now enjoy perfect tranquillity."

AN EXTORTIONATE PUBLICAN.

After a residence of several weeks in Paris the Nepalese Ambassador, with his numerous suite, left that city on Tuesday morning for Marseilles, by way of Roanne and Lyons. At Marseilles the English Government steamer the *Growler* is waiting to conduct him to Alexandria, where he will arrive in time for the next Calcutta mail. The visit of the Indian Prince has been quite a godsend to the Parisians, among whom he has left more money than half-a-dozen of the much-vaunted Russians. But, great as his expenditure has been, it appears that some of those into whose hands he fell were determined to extort the last penny. After he had paid most liberally, not to say lavishly, for all he had had, and for many things which he had not, supplementary bills and imaginary charges were sent in at the very last moment by the landlord of the Hotel Sinet, where he lodged, for damages done, of which there was no appearance; carriages hired, of which no one knew anything; and articles supplied, which no one had seen. Some of these charges are said to have been so exorbitant and absurd that the persons around the Prince refused to pay them without re-examination; and it was intimated to the landlord that money was left in the proper hands to settle those or any other just claims that might accidentally be left unpaid. Nothing, however, would satisfy the landlord but the cash. He refused to allow the Prince's luggage to be taken; and ultimately it became necessary to call in the nearest commissary of police, who not only ordered the luggage to be given up at once, but very properly reprimanded the landlord for the attempted extortion. Ultimately the Prince was allowed to proceed on his journey; but in consequence of the delay created by the altercation, he very nearly missed the railway train. Indeed, three of his aides-de-camp were under the necessity of remaining in Paris till the evening. After all the efforts of Louis Napoleon to give him a favourable impression of the French people, Jung Bahadur will thus return to Nepal with the conviction that they are a set of robbers.

BURGLARY AND MURDER.

The quiet village of Frimley Grove, which is about a mile and a half from the Farnborough station of the South Western Railway, was the scene of a daring crime and a sad tragedy last Saturday morning. The village of Frimley consists of some forty or fifty straggling houses, and at the western extremity of it stands the parsonage, where the outrage was committed, an old-fashioned brick dwelling, about one hundred yards apart from any other house.

The Reverend George Edward Hollest, who has held the perpetual curacy of this hamlet during the past seventeen years, was a married man, his household consisting of himself, his wife, a man servant, two maid servants, and his two sons, youths of fourteen and fifteen, who had arrived from school on Friday afternoon to pass the Michaelmas vacation with their parents. On Friday night the family retired to rest at their usual hour, shortly before eleven o'clock. Mr. and Mrs. Hollest slept on the first floor, in a room overlooking the lawn, the two boys occupied an apartment on the same floor; the man servant slept at the top of the house, and a room adjoining formed the sleeping apartment of the two maid servants. It appears that it was Mr. Hollest's custom when his children were at home to leave the door of his bedroom ajar in order that he might overhear them in the event of their requiring anything, and he seems to have done so on Friday last. After retiring to rest both himself and his wife fell into a sound sleep, from which they were awakened about three o'clock on Saturday morning by a sudden increase of light in their apartment, and a noise of footsteps.

On looking up they saw two masked figures standing at the foot of their bed; but so little suspicion of danger had the reverend gentleman that his first impression was that his sons were practising some trick upon him, and in playful terms he chided them, telling them to begone to bed, and not play jokes with him at that hour of the night. Mrs. Hollest, with a quicker perception of danger, at once saw the dreadful truth, and screamed aloud. The miscreants instantly seized her and her husband, and, with pistols pointed at their heads, declared that if they made the slightest noise they would blow their brains out. Mrs. Hollest, notwithstanding the imminent peril she was in, struggled hard, and at length succeeded in slipping out of bed and seizing a bell-rope; upon which her assailants rushed round to the side of the bed, and threw himself upon her with such force as to snap the bell-rope asunder. The fellow continued to stand over her with his pistol pointed to her face, and she states that she fully expected to be shot dead every moment. Mr. Hollest, who was a very strong and active man, on discovering how matters stood, struggled with the villain who stood over him, and at length got out of bed, and was in the act of stooping down to reach the poker from the fireplace when his assailant fired at him, and wounded him in the abdomen. The unfortunate gentleman was not aware at the first that he had been struck, and continued to grapple with the fellow, who made desperate efforts to escape. The report of the pistol having alarmed the miscreant who was standing over Mrs. Hollest, he left her for a moment to assist his companion. She nothing daunted by the fright she had undergone, on finding herself released, rushed to the fireplace, and, seizing a large hand-bell, swung it to and fro several times. This had the effect of alarming the burglars, who almost immediately left the apartment, and, descending the staircase, hastened out of the house by the front door.

No sooner were they gone than Mr. Hollest ran into an adjoining apartment, snatched up a gun which he always kept loaded, ran down stairs, and, seeing three men running across the lawn, he fired amongst them, but without effect. Returning to his bedroom, he now first discovered that he was wounded in the abdomen, and, having endeavoured to allay the fears of his wife, he got into bed, and ordered his man servant, who had not made his appearance till then, to seek for a constable, as a protection to his family, and then to fetch a doctor for himself. The man called up the village Dogberry, and then proceeded to summon Mr. Davies, the medical attendant of the family, who resided about a mile and a half distant. On the arrival of the constable, an examination of the premises was made, and it was ascertained that an entry had been effected at the rear of the premises, through the scullery window, the burglars having first broken a pane of glass to enable them to open the window, and then cut away the woodwork, into which an iron bar was fixed. From the scullery an entrance to the kitchen was effected by the removal of one bolt, which appears to have been done in a very business-like manner, indicating that the villains were no novices in crime. Having once gained an entry, they appear to have set open all the doors in the house, so as to afford speedy egress in case of alarm or discovery. The front door was propped open by a mat, and two or three other doors were found fixed on their hinges by the insertion of knives in the crevices. From the positive testimony of Mr. Hollest there appears to be no doubt that three men were engaged in the attack, and the amount of property carried off seems to corroborate his impression. The cool determination of the rascals may be gathered from the fact that, within half a mile of the spot, a quantity of bread and meat, with two or three half empty bottles of wine, stolen from the parsonage house, and evidently forming the debris of a meal, have been discovered.

On the arrival of Mr. Davies, the family surgeon, he found Mr. Hollest in very good spirits, and sufficiently collected to detail the circumstances of the attack. On an examination of the wound, however, Mr. Davies at once formed an unfavourable opinion, the correctness of which was soon made manifest by the increasing pain and uneasiness which Mr. Hollest suffered. After the first two or three hours, the pain the unfortunate gentleman suffered became so intense that all hope of his being able to survive the injury was at an end. His two brothers, who reside in the neighbourhood, were immediately sent for, and admitted to an interview with their afflicted relative. During Saturday the unfortunate gentleman continued to grow worse, and on Sunday at noon, all hope of saving his life being at an end, the fact was communicated to him. He received the melancholy intelligence with Christian resignation, and having taken an affectionate leave of his family and servants, he declared that he freely forgave his murderer, and that he hoped God would forgive him also. He then expressed a desire to partake of the sacrament, which was administered to him by a clerical friend, his neighbour; and, after lingering in great suffering, he expired, in a state of almost unconscious exhaustion, at twenty minutes after eight o'clock on Sunday evening.

The most active exertions have been made to apprehend the burglars. Three young men, named Hiram Smith, James Jones, and Levi Harwood, two at least of whom were at Frimley on Friday evening, have been apprehended on suspicion. They were examined on Tuesday before Captain Mangles, M.P., and the result of the examination, which was conducted with closed doors, is said to have created a strong impression of their guilt. They were remanded till Friday (yesterday). An inquest was held on the body of Mr. Hollest, on Tuesday, but no additional facts were elicited. The inquest was adjourned for a week.

The frequency of robberies of late in this part of Surrey has caused great alarm among the residents in the neighbourhood. We understand that within a very few months burglaries have taken place at the residences of Major Birch, of Clare-park, near Farnham; Mr. Lindsay, of Hampton-lodge; Mr. Stoveld, of Runfold, near Farnham; Lady Wyndham, of Sutton, near Guildford; and Mr. Tickell, of Frimley-grove; all of which are within a circle of ten miles. The dreadful circumstances of the present case have aroused the attention of Government, and on Wednesday morning a placard, of which the following is a copy, was extensively circulated:—

"BURGLARY AND MURDER.—£150 REWARD.—The dwelling-house of the Reverend George Edward Hollest, at Frimley-grove, Surrey, having been burglariously entered by several men on the night of the 27th of September, 1850, when one of them shot and wounded Mr. Hollest, of which wound he died on the 29th, a reward of £100 will be paid by her Majesty's Government, and a further reward of £50 on behalf of the disconsolate widow, to any person who shall give such information and evidence as shall lead to the discovery and conviction of the burglars. And her Majesty's gracious pardon will be granted to any accomplice (not being the person who actually fired the shot) who shall give such information and evidence as shall lead to the same result."

On the Friday night previous to the burglary and murder at Frimley the house of the Reverend O. E. Vidal, of Arlington, in Sussex, was entered by three men in masks, who took two common watches from the servants' bedroom, and then went to Mr. Vidal's sleeping-room, and asked where his money was. He said it was down stairs, upon which they ordered him to jump out of bed and go down with them for it, not even allowing him time to dress. One of the robbers had a drawn sword, which he brandished in Mr. Vidal's face, warning him that his throat would be cut if he made the slightest noise. Mr. Vidal remonstrated with the ruffians, reminding them of the fate which must await them hereafter, even if they should escape punishment in this world. The remonstrance had no effect. They rifled his desk, taking £40 which it contained, and then, after locking Mr. Vidal safely in his bedroom, went quietly down stairs, and took tea in the most deliberate and comfortable style before leaving the house.

James Smith, aged forty-one years, a lame and decrepid man, toll-collector at the turnpike, King-street, near the Hebben-bridge, was murdered on Saturday morning, by some one who broke into the house and cut the poor man's throat. No money was taken away, nor has any clue been obtained as to what was the motive of the murderer. Two men have been apprehended on suspicion of their having had a hand in the affair.

WOOLWICH ACADEMY AND CARSHALTON SCHOOL.

We have elsewhere made some remarks on the revelations lately made regarding the discipline of Woolwich Academy and the preparatory establishment at Carshalton. The following article from the *Times* of Tuesday contains all the information on the subject which has yet been laid before the public:—

"Comparatively few months have passed since the discipline of Woolwich Academy was made the object of severe and general animadversion. All that should not exist in a reputable seminary was shown to exist there, while all the opinions especially desirable in a training school for officers and gentlemen were proved to be utterly wanting. Of all the institutions in the country that at Woolwich appeared the least calculated to communicate by its discipline and customs a gentlemanly and honourable tone to the character of its pupils. There was no liberal confidence reposed in the cadets by their superiors, no cordiality subsisting between officers and students, and no good feeling among the cadets themselves. Practices long banished from all good schools survived in full vigour at Woolwich. Bullying and tyranny were carried to excess, habits of drunkenness were notoriously common, and exploits of low rakishness were regarded as honourable achievements. Of such a state of things insubordination and desertion were the natural consequences; some pupils rebelled from recklessness, while others ran away from ill-usage; and the supervision of the governors, exhibited rather in sudden paroxysms of implacable severity than in that constant and equable vigilance which checks evil in its growth, tended only to complete and signalize the ruin which mal-administration had originated. The academy was permitted to fall into a state of intolerable disorganization, and then a remedy was sought in the wholesale and indiscriminate proscription

of good and bad together. There was no medium between shameful remissness and unreasoning absolutism. It was hoped that the reforms induced by the exposures alluded to would effectually rescue the academy from its position of obloquy and disrepute; but no such result has yet been realized, nor can it, if our information is correct, be reasonably anticipated as probable. For the statement we subjoin we possess unexceptionable authority, and the inference suggested can hardly be otherwise than fatal to the existing administration of the academy.

"One of the expedients devised for improving the general tone of the seminary at Woolwich was the institution of a preparatory establishment at Carshalton, from which a certain number of pupils, well trained in habits of morality, and fortified with a groundwork of sound principles, might be transferred for the completion of their education to the more professional discipline of the academy. The number of cadets, however, thus introduced could seldom average above ten or twelve in the year—an infusion not only insufficient, as soon appeared, to leaven the academical lump, but serving to create a disturbance unknown before. The Carshalton pupils, in fact, seem to have been received at Woolwich much as the *élèves* of Parkhurst or Pentonville are received by less fortunate convicts, and with a similar disparagement of the effects produced by preparatory discipline. If the general facts of the case are not made fully intelligible by what follows, the result must be attributed to the nature of charges which do not admit of more particular elucidation.

"In August last ten boys, aged from 13½ to 14½, were duly transferred from Carshalton to Woolwich, and there, after the ordinary scrutiny, entered as cadets. A few weeks afterwards one of them was detected in habits destructive of moral discipline, whether in seminaries or families, and sentenced accordingly. In palliation of his delinquency, he allowed the notoriety of the vice, and attributed his own temptations to the examples furnished by his experience at Carshalton. Upon the report of these occurrences to the Master-General, a court of inquiry was ordered, composed of the governing authorities of the academy associated with a general officer of the Ordnance establishment in Full-mail. This special commission, thus constituted, was duly opened at Carshalton, and the investigation was pursued through several days with closed doors, each boy of the school being separately examined, and subjected, if we are rightly informed, to such an interrogatory as could only be paralleled by the questions framed in ancient times for the inmates of convents by the prurient imaginations of monkish visitors. The result was serious in the extreme. Two days after the close of the enquiry, lithographed circulars, being the first communications made upon the subject, were addressed to the parents of no fewer than twenty-three boys, desiring the instant withdrawal of their children from Carshalton, on terms and on grounds which would blench their characters for life. At the same time the ten cadets entered at Woolwich in August received similar notices, so that for misdeeds unproven, except by the secret deductions of the inquisitors, and if proven, not exceeding a puerile measure of viciousness, three-and-thirty sons of respectable families have been abruptly turned into the world under an indelible imputation of heinous and detestable criminality.

"These proceedings are exactly of a piece with the old administration of the academy. Mischiefs have been allowed to creep in, to spread, and to take root, until the governing authorities are suddenly seized with a fit of convulsive severity, and an enquiry which can satisfy no one is followed by a sweeping sentence which must greatly dissatisfy all. We believe that some of the parents thus aggrieved have peremptorily refused to become parties to the sentence by withdrawing their children, and have preferred the exposure of the reality itself to the far fouler imputation suggested by the inconsiderate decisions of the governors. In these resolutions they will be supported by popular sympathy; but the general conclusion of public opinion will be infallibly directed against the whole machinery of the institution. Unless it can be shown that the routine of a military education unavoidably predisposes the mind of a pupil to low and degrading vice, an assumption which, besides being incredible in itself, is amply refuted by other examples around us—it becomes a plain and necessary deduction that the administration of Woolwich Academy must be radically vicious throughout. Without entering into any particulars of evidence or argument, it would notoriously be quite sufficient to condemn any school in the kingdom—public or private—if it could be alleged of it that expulsions occurred by the score every second or third year. No explanations could qualify this single fact, against which not all the *prestige* of Eton or Harrow would suffice to make head. The finest and most popular school in the country would, under such circumstances, be utterly ruined; but Government academies appear, like Government dockyards, to survive a course of mismanagement which would bring any private institution to bankruptcy in credit and opinion. Commissions just now are somewhat in vogue; nor have our most venerable seminaries been spared the common ordeal. We do not see what plea of exemption could be offered for Woolwich, and we are sure that, apart from the astounding results of the recent experiment, no thinking person would acquiesce in the system by which administrators are made the scrutineers and judges of their own administration. The next visitors of Woolwich Academy must not be nominated in the Ordnance-office, for it is altogether intolerable that officers whose own supervision may very possibly be in fault should be permitted to merge all degrees and apportionments of delinquency in one sweeping and inexorable sentence, which, while ruthlessly chastising the demerits of others, altogether dispenses with any question of their own."

THE CATHOLICS AND THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

The Dublin papers contain an important correspondence between Mr. Corballis (a Roman Catholic gentleman of good standing at the bar, of considerable landed estate, who has been for several years a commissioner of national education) and Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, respecting the practical effect of the recent synodical address as regards the collegiate education of the children of Roman Catholics in Ireland. Mr. Corballis asks the reverend archbishop whether he and his fellow-Catholics are to understand the late synodical address as actually prohibiting them from sending their children to the Queen's Colleges? They cannot understand why, after petitioning for admission into Trinity College, the new colleges, which are so much more liberal, should be unequivocally condemned, without any reason for the sudden change, or any provision, in the meantime, for the education of Catholics.

Archbishop Murray does not venture to give a direct answer to Mr. Corballis's very embarrassing question, but he confirms the statement, previously before the public, that a petition to the Pope, signed by thirteen of the bishops, has been forwarded to Rome, praying that no hostile course against the Queen's Colleges should be adopted. Meantime, pending the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff, everything remains *in statu quo* at the colleges—the Roman Catholic functionaries, professors, and deans of residences continue to hold their respective offices, and no step has been taken to interfere with the attendance of the multitudes of Roman Catholic children of the humbler classes receiving the benefits of a sound education at the national schools.

A SURVEY OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRY.

The *Morning Chronicle*, which has already done so much for social reform, by its invaluable series of letters on "Labour and the Poor," is about to enter upon a new field of enquiry, which, as it justly remarks, "will be found equally fraught with conclusions of the deepest interest to the entire population of these realms." It proposes to publish, during the next twelvemonth, a complete view of the agricultural industry of the principal kingdoms and states of the old and new worlds, including sketches and comparative estimates of the condition of all classes of their inhabitants who are connected, either as proprietors, farmers, or labourers. The new series is to commence with France, but special correspondents have also been employed in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Russia, Syria, Egypt, and the United States.

"These researches," says our contemporary, "have been set on foot with a view to practical results, and in the hope of suggesting plans of improvement to the statesman, as well as of supplying subjects of speculation for the moralist, and data for the political economist. It will, therefore, be our aim to omit no material circumstance which can elucidate, on the one hand, the causes of social misery and degradation, or, on the other, those of national well-being and prosperity."

The public is deeply indebted to the proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle* for what they have already done to furnish a full and complete view of the actual condition of the industrial classes of England. This new enterprise, which is of a much more gigantic nature, will give them a still higher claim to public gratitude.

THE WRECK OF THE SUPERB.

The inquest on the bodies of the persons drowned by the wreck of the *Superb* steamer, through the culpable carelessness of those in charge of the vessel, commenced on Wednesday week. The number of persons drowned appears to have been about twenty. Several witnesses were examined, but their evidence threw very little light on the cause of the catastrophe. The inquest was adjourned till Friday. A gentleman who was on board the boat which swamped, owing to the want of a "thole-pin," and who saved himself by swimming, gives the following account of what he saw:—

"When the steamer struck, and every one was allowed to shift for himself, no one assuming the command, I felt that to stay by the steamer was the safest course, and I advised a lady of my acquaintance to do so, and she and her daughters have been saved by so doing. In the meantime both boats were launched, and numbers got into them. I paid no attention, however, until the steamer canted to one side, and went down so much by the stern that I thought she was slipping from the rock and would go down in deep water. A boat at this instant shoving off from the stern, I balanced in my own mind for an instant what to do, and jumped into her. The tide carried us off, and the passengers exclaimed, 'We are safe!' We were lightly laden, and every one was calm and sitting down, and I participated in the feeling of safety; but, observing water in the boat, I requested some gentlemen to bale with their hats (I was seated too far aft, being the last on board). They said they could not, and did not make any attempt. The water increased fast, and a boy belonging to the vessel stood up and cried out frantically for a 'thole pin,' but was so agitated he could not tell where to seek for one. At last I understood that they were in the stern-sheets, and gave him

one, he exclaiming, 'The plug is out, and we shall all be drowned!' He searched in vain for the plug-hole, and the boat filled fast; and the last lurch she gave I plunged into the sea and swam against the tide for my life, the cries of the drowning ringing in my ears. I suppose that there were fully a dozen people in the boat, and only myself and a seaman were saved after struggling two hours for life."

A GREEK VIRAGO.

A few weeks ago we gave an account of one of the inmates of a Turkish harem having strangled a eunuch for having incurred her displeasure. Later accounts give a more circumstantial history of the affair, from which it appears that the offence committed by the unfortunate eunuch was his having discovered that his mistress had imposed upon her husband, Mehmet Pasha, Ambassador of the Ottoman Porte, in London, by substituting two strange children, under the pretence that they were her own. Having made this discovery the eunuch made known his intention to write to his master informing him of what his wife had done. His mistress, on learning this, became furiously enraged at him, and, having ascertained that he was in the bath, she sought him out there. He was attended by two slaves, whom she instantly dismissed. She first tried whether he could not be bribed to silence, but, on his refusal, she threw a noose round the neck of the wretched old man and strangled him. The woman, who has been thrown into prison, contends that she possessed a power of life and death over the slave. Nothing has yet been done in the matter.

A THEATRICAL SUICIDE.

A respectably dressed man, about thirty-five years of age, was seen standing on the parapet of the bridge of Notre-Dame, about half-past ten o'clock on Saturday morning. He remained there for a quarter of an hour or more, until he had collected a crowd round him, when, extending his arm as if about to harangue the people, he recited in an emphatic voice the following line from Ducis:—

"La mort, c'est le sommeil—c'est un reveil, peut-être."

"I shall just see whether Ducis be right or wrong," he cried, and, folding his arms on his breast, he flung himself into the Seine. Before assistance could be rendered the current had swept him away. Notwithstanding all that has been done to find the body, it has not yet appeared, nor has it been ascertained who the person was.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The accounts from Balmoral merely state that the Queen enjoys outdoor exercise daily, while Prince Albert goes deer-stalking when the weather is favourable. It has now been arranged that they will leave Balmoral for the south on the morning of Thursday, the 10th of October. The intention originally was to leave on the 5th, but her Majesty has been so delighted with her Highland residence, that she has resolved to prolong her stay to the period mentioned. The Queen will arrive in Edinburgh about seven o'clock on the evening in question; and, as it will be dark at that hour, the road from the North British Railway station to Holyrood Palace will be lighted with coloured lamps. She will depart from Edinburgh on the morning of Saturday, the 12th.

The Duchess of Kent will leave Abergeldie to-day (Saturday) for Haddo-house, on a visit to the Earl of Aberdeen, travelling across the country by Ballater, Tarland, Monymusk, Inverury, &c.; and on Monday her royal highness and suite will go to Aberdeen, and thence proceed by railway to the south.

Measures are said to be in contemplation for the extension of the grounds of Holyrood Palace, and plans for this purpose will be drawn up and submitted for the royal approval. It is said that one feature of the proposed alterations is the construction of a new entrance from the Abbey-hill to the Palace and Holyrood Park, near the present gateway, into the garden at Holyrood. It is hoped that the proposed alterations will be effected before the period for the return of the Court next year, so that the present intention of her Majesty to hold a levee at the ancient Palace of the Scottish sovereigns may not require to be departed from.

Prince Albert has presented a donation of £50 in aid of the Association for the Establishment of Evening Classes for Young Men.

The Duchess of Cambridge remains at Plassnewydd, Anglesey, where her stay is likely to be longer than originally contemplated. The Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz left last week for London, on his return to the Continent. The Hereditary Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz remains with her mother and her sister the Princess Mary.

The Duke of Cambridge, who has lately been in Wales, arrived at his residence, in St. James's Palace, on Saturday night. He left town on Tuesday for the purpose of paying visits to the King of Hanover and the King of Prussia.

At the close of the meeting of the Privy Council at Balmoral on Tuesday week, Lord John Russell, along with Lady Russell, left for Blair Adam, where they spent Wednesday and Thursday on a visit to Sir Charles Adam. On Friday forenoon the Premier and Lady Russell arrived at Douglas's Hotel, Edinburgh; and in the course of the day visited Lord Dunfermline at Collinton House, and the Lord Advocate at Lauriston Castle. They left Edinburgh on Saturday morning for Minto House, near Hawick, where they will spend a few days with the Earl and Countess of Minto.

A serious accident, which had well nigh proved fatal, befel the Marquis of Hastings on Friday evening. His lordship holds an ensigncy in the 52nd Regiment, now lying at the barracks in Everton, near Liverpool, and on

Friday evening he took a stroll after dinner, in the neighbourhood of the docks. While wandering about he fell into the gut leading from George's to the Canning Dock, and was not rescued till he had been ten minutes in the water. He had completely exhausted himself in swimming, and was on the point of sinking when assistance arrived.

We regret to announce the death of Lord Leigh, which took place at Bonn, on the Rhine, on Friday last. Some weeks ago he left England for the benefit of his health, which had been seriously impaired. On Thursday he was pronounced to be progressing so favourably towards recovery that he had resolved to return home. On the same night, however, at ten o'clock, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and from that hour he continued senseless until the following morning, when he died. He was the first baron of that name, and was created in the year 1839. Lord Leigh was in his sixtieth year when he died. He will be succeeded in the title by his eldest son, the Honourable William Henry Leigh. The principal estate of the family is Stoneleigh Abbey, in Warwickshire, and there is also property appertaining to the title in six other counties in England.

Lord Elgin, Governor of the Canadas, was in New York a fortnight ago, having made the tour for the purpose of accompanying to Canada Lady Elgin and his family, who had been spending the last six weeks at a watering place in the vicinity. His lordship had previously visited the Saut St. Marie, where he spent several days, being received with the usual public and military ceremonies.

Sir William Gomm, the new Commander-General for India, accompanied by Lady Gomm, and Captain Yates, his aide-de-camp, left town on Saturday for India. He slept at Canterbury on Saturday, and crossed over to Calais on Sunday. He will remain on the Continent until the departure of the packet from Trieste, and will proceed to Suva in the Haddington, about the 8th of November.

Writes have been issued from the Crown and Hanaper Office for the election of a temporal peer of Ireland, to sit in Parliament, in the room of the late Earl of Dunraven.

It is generally believed that the Very Reverend Thomas Townsend, lately appointed to the deanery of Waterford, will succeed the late Bishop of Meath on the episcopal bench.

An Armagh letter in the *Newry Telegraph* states that Dr. Cullen, the new Catholic Primate, has selected Drogheda for his principal place of residence. The writer thinks that the Primate's somewhat primitive notions of astronomy do not admit of his reconciliation to a residence in the city of Armagh, so famed for a Royal Observatory which has acquired some celebrity in the scientific world.

We understand that upwards of £900 have already been subscribed towards a befitting monument to William Wordsworth.

Mr. G. P. R. James, the novelist, is about to deliver a series of six lectures in Boston upon modern civilization. The mansion-house and lands of Priorbank, Melrose, were sold last week to W. Tait, Esq., late publisher of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, for the sum of five thousand guineas. Priorbank was purchased by General Hugh Goudie, Commander of the Forces in India, about forty years ago.

Mr. Forrest, the actor, and his wife (late Miss Sinclair), are again before the American public. An application has been made by Mrs. Edwin Forrest to the Supreme Court for an injunction to stay Mr. Forrest from further prosecuting his action for a divorce in the State of Pennsylvania, or in any other jurisdiction than that of this state, and from disposing of or encumbering his real estate in this state, and also from obstructing himself into her presence, on the allegation that she apprehends violence at his hands. After a hearing before Judge Edmonds, in which Messrs. Howland and Chase appeared for the plaintiff, the injunction was granted, and Mr. Forrest was immediately arrested at the Astor House and conducted before the court, when he was required to give bail in the sum of 10,000 dollars to refrain from all violence towards Mrs. Forrest, and in every respect to observe the injunction. The lawyers of Mr. Forrest have also issued a card, explaining that the arrest of Mr. Forrest was upon a writ *ne exeat*, and that the bail he gave was his individual bond. Mrs. Forrest sues Forrest for a divorce also, on the ground that he has committed several adulteries.

It is said that a Prince of the House of Orleans is expected at Frohsdorf, and that the meeting between the Duke of Bordeaux and his cousin was arranged some time ago.

The Comte and Comtesse de Chambord arrived at Frohsdorf on the 26th ultimo. M. de Salvandy arrived there on the 20th. On the 23rd the Comtesse de Chambord suddenly left Frohsdorf to attend her uncle, the Archduke Ferdinand, who is dying.

M. Lucien Murat left Paris on Monday for Turin, on an extraordinary mission from the President of the Republic to the King of Sardinia, respecting the disputes with the Church. It is supposed that he will proceed from Turin to Rome, to which Court he is also accredited.

M. de Persigny returned to Paris from London on Tuesday. His mysterious mission to this country, which has caused much speculation among the quidnuncs of Paris, is now said to have been to negotiate a loan for the President of the Republic, who has already spent the three millions granted to him by the Legislative Assembly. The insinuation in the *Assemblée Nationale*, that the object of M. Persigny's mission was to raise the wind for the President, has roused so much wrath at the Elysée that recourse has been had to the extremely harsh measure of seizing the journal, and prosecuting the author of the article and the responsible editor.

M. Antoine de Latour, secretary to the Duke of Montpensier, has left Madrid for England, bearing with him an invitation from his Royal Highness to his family, but

particularly to the Queen Marie Amelie, to pass some time with him in Andalusia.

The Queen of the Belgians is still in a state of suffering, which forces her to the most absolute repose. Her mother, Queen Amelie, is expected at Ostend on the 8th of October, together with the Duc de Nemours.

M. Meyerbeer has arrived in Paris. It is said that he is in negotiation with the Académie Royale de Musique for a new opera, which will appear in the course of the winter.

The new work of M. de Montalivet, called, "Louis Philippe and the Civil List," will appear in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in parts. Ultimately it will be published as a volume.

It is said that the Count of San Luis has either already married, or is about to marry, one of the daughters of the Duke of Rianzares and of Queen Christina. Others say he is to become connected with that family by marrying a sister of the duke, the widow of General Fulgoso, who was killed in the insurrectionary attempt of May, 1848.

The King of Bavaria left Hohenschangau on the morning of the 24th ultimo. The object of the visit is a matter of conjecture: it was said to be a meeting with the Emperor of Austria. It was expected that his Majesty and Queen Mary would attend the sacred dramatic representations in the Amonergau on the 30th.

The King and Queen of Prussia are about to proceed to Warsaw, to have a confidential family interview with the Emperor of Russia. A letter from Warsaw further announces that all the necessary preparations had been made for the reception of the Emperor and Empress. It is now said that the Empress will not go to Italy for the winter, but that she and the Emperor himself intend to stay at Warsaw. The palace of Lutzenki and the country palace of Skierniwice will be the residences of the Empress, whilst the palace of Warsaw has been placed at the Emperor's disposition by Prince Paskewitch.

General Haynau paid a visit to the Emperor of Austria on the 19th ultimo, and the day before he was present with Baron Jellachich and all the Ministers at a banquet given to them by the people of Vienna. The municipal council intends to present Baron Haynau with the honorary title of burgoes of Vienna. The report in the *Times* of an infamous insult having been offered by certain officers, among whom was a near relation of Prince Schwarzenberg, to a portrait of Queen Victoria, is contradicted by the *Globe* correspondent, who says he has satisfied himself that no insult has been offered, either by word or deed, to her Majesty, or to any of her subjects in Vienna, on account of the attack upon Haynau. The writer adds that "Feldzeugmeister Haynau has gone to Graz, where he will probably live in retirement with his family," and where, we trust, he will spend his few remaining years in repentance for the atrocious crimes he has committed.

Amin Bey, envoy from the Sublime Porte, landed at New York on the 13th ultimo, and was received with public and national demonstrations of respect and welcome, not only by the mayor and corporation of New York, but also by the people and the federal authorities.

It is understood that at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, in November, the President of the Republic will send a message, in which he will recommend the immediate revision of the constitution to the representatives of the people. The recommendation will be founded on the resolutions recently adopted by the councils-general, which, however, were not in general for the immediate revision, but simply for the revision in terms of the constitution itself. The whole of the Ministers have agreed that the measure shall be brought forward as a Cabinet question. It is said that in order to prepare the country for the favourable reception of the proposal, it is intended in the first instance to propose several popular measures, such as a loan institution for the benefit of the working classes, the establishment of hospitals of civil invalids, and of agricultural councils, &c. These measures will occupy the first month; and so that it is probable that the debates on the revision of the constitution will not commence before the middle of December.

The trial of the thirty-one persons accused of having formed a secret illegal society for the restoration of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon was concluded on Saturday, before the Court of Assize of Paris. They were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for six months. The others were acquitted.

Under the pretext that the number of daily visitors at the Elysée is latterly so much increased as to leave the President no time for the despatch of public business, an order has been issued that henceforth no one, excepting the ministers and high functionaries, will be admitted without a letter of audience.

The President of the Republic, by a decree dated Monday, places all Mussulman institutions of public instruction in Algeria under the surveillance and direction of the Government; and orders the establishment at the expense of the state, of Mussulman schools of superior instruction at Medeah, Flémenc, and Constantine. The instruction in such schools is to be gratuitous, and is destined to form candidates for places connected with public worship, justice, public instruction, and the Arab school.

Some disturbance took place on Sunday last at Perpignan, in the course of which several persons were wounded with knives. A woman, who had gone up to the Commissary of Police crying out, "A la guillotine!" was at once arrested by him. The crowd, however, rescued her and ill-treated the functionary. She was afterwards again arrested, and the crowd became so tumultuous as to require the interference of the armed force to disperse it. Three other persons were also arrested afterwards. All has since remained quiet.

Two delegates of the Maronite population have arrived in Paris. They have come in the name of their countrymen of the Libanus to ask the French Government for a concession of land in Algeria. This population has

always been regarded as honest and industrious colonists, and their introduction into Algeria must be considered as highly desirable.

M. Lagrange, an apothecary, residing in L'Orient, after having been for the last fifteen years labouring at the preparation of a bullet of the most destructive kind, has succeeded to the satisfaction of a commission appointed by the Government. Each bullet, on striking the object against which it was directed, exploded with a detonation as loud as that of the gun from which it was fired, and produced a most destructive effect. It bursts instantly on striking any object which opposes resistance, whether it be earth, wood, or stone. At the conclusion of the trial the members of the commission, addressing the inventor, said, "Sir, your name ought to be inscribed amongst the members of the Peace Congress, for, after your invention, it will be impossible to think of making war." M. Lagrange asserts that with a gun-boat, armed with four pieces of cannon, he could sink a ship of 120 guns in twenty minutes. He is in treaty with the Government for the sale of his secret.

Undismayed by the melancholy catastrophe that befel Lieutenant Gale, the aeronauts continue to invent new modes of attracting spectators. Instead of Monsieur Poitevin ascending on horseback, it is Madame Poitevin who now performs that dangerous feat. There was an ascent on Sunday from the Hippodrome, when that lady, dressed in *Amazone*, mounted her white mare, her husband occupying the ear. After having passed over Paris, and sailed amongst the clouds for a couple of hours, the adventurous couple descended safe and sound at some distance to the north of the capital.

The meeting of Piedmontese Bishops at Villa Novetta, in the diocese of Asti, to deliberate upon a conciliatory memorial to the Holy See, has concluded. The memorial was agreed to and signed by ten bishops. In it are set forth the serious mischief to the interests of religion which must result from the protraction of the differences which have arisen between Sardinia and the Court of Rome, and hopes expressed that some proximate or satisfactory solutions of the questions at issue may be arrived at speedily. It is said that this episcopal conclave was suggested by the Pope to save appearances, and to enable him, with a good grace, to make concessions.

A Genoa journal exposes the sham miracle of the winking Virgin of Rimini, and publishes a diagram showing the manner in which, by pulling certain wires, a priest concealed in the drapery produces the pretended miraculous effect.

One of the last acts of the Jesuits in Naples prohibits students of the best public library from reading any books excepting those treating of mathematics and medicine.

Amongst the ill-fated passengers that perished in the catastrophe of Oropesa, when the Barcelona diligence was precipitated into the sea, whilst on its way to Valencia, were two Englishmen, a Marquesa, the land-bailiff of the Duke de Híjar, and three merchants. There were sixteen persons in the diligence, all of whom were drowned.

The commander of the Danish troops has prohibited all navigation on the river Eyder. The King of Denmark left Copenhagen on the 26th ultimo, for Flensburg, where he intends to stay with the army about ten days. A Russian fleet, consisting of six line-of-battle ships, one frigate, two steam frigates, two steam-corvettes, two brigs, and three schooners, was lying off Copenhagen when the King left that capital.

A conspiracy has been discovered at Bucharest which has very extensive ramifications. Several arrests have taken place. Although the plot has failed, it has produced a moment of crisis, in which Russia has been playing an active part. For the present the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has been thwarted, but the present movement shows how very precarious is the duration of tranquillity in the Danubian provinces.

The bill for abolishing the slave trade in the district of Columbia has been the subject of several exciting debates in the American Senate, and was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, by a vote of 32 to 10. The bill for the delivery of fugitive slaves has passed the House by a vote of 109 to 75. It was supported by only three Whigs from the free states. Of the loco foca members from the free states there were twenty-six in its favour.

The latest intelligence from Texas is satisfactory. The action of Congress regarding the boundary of this state was as yet unknown there; but the action of her local Legislature has been more prudent than that of her bellicose Governor, who has threatened to make war on the United States, though his treasury contained but 24,000 dollars. The "War Bill" is not known to have been lost, the boundary question was submitted to the people, and the Legislature has adjourned.

The members from California have been admitted into both Houses of Congress, and have taken their seats. Colonel Fremont, one of the senators from California, has introduced a bill extending the laws and judiciary system of the United States over California, and appointing a surveyor of the public lands to reside there, and keep the peace between the whites and the Indians.

The last accounts from New York say that rumours of another intended attack on Cuba were exciting uneasiness, but that Government was prepared to meet and suppress any movement of the kind.

The damages by the recent storm and floods in the United States have been of appalling magnitude. On the Schuylkill alone there cannot have been less than 1,000,000 dollars of property destroyed, and the calculations now are that the destruction throughout the United States amounts to more than 4,000,000 dollars. Nearly fifty persons lost their lives by the overflow of the Schuylkill, and more than one hundred in the entire State of Pennsylvania.

The annual election of Lord Mayor took place on Saturday at Guildhall. According to custom the Lord Mayor and aldermen, with the officers of the corporation,

attended divine service at St. Lawrence Church. Immediately afterwards the various functionaries proceeded to Guildhall, where Mr. Alderman Musgrove, clothworker, was elected to the office. The new Lord Mayor, after expressing the gratitude he felt for the honour which had been conferred upon him, stated that "he should use his utmost endeavours during the eventful year upon which they were about to enter to maintain the proud character which the City of London had enjoyed for hospitality, justice, and charity."

The Lord Mayor has issued cards of invitation for a banquet, to be given in the Egyptian-hall, on Wednesday, the 16th instant, to the leading bankers and the principal merchants in the city of London, as well as to the masters, wardens, and clerks of a major part of the City Companies, and several distinguished private friends.

Several meetings of the local commissioners of the metropolitan districts for promoting the Exhibition of 1851 took place at the New Palace, Westminster, on Thursday. The reports made by the various commissioners were of the most satisfactory nature, and such as to leave no doubt whatever but that the productions of industry in the several departments which they represent in their localities will be fully represented at the Exhibition.

The Royal British Bank has announced to its customers its intention to issue, in cases where it may be desired, promissory notes payable to their order for any portion or for the full amount of the balances that may stand against their names either in the shape of cash credits or drawing accounts. Thus, a person having £500 at the Bank, and wishing to give security to some other person to that extent, might obtain at the bank promissory notes to his own order, with which his account would be debited, and which he could then hand endorsed to the person in question, to hold as a guarantee for any transaction between them, while the interest allowed by the bank would still accrue to the depositor.

A large quantity of Assyrian and other antiquities and marbles, consigned to the trustees of the British Museum, has arrived. Among them are the great bull from Nineveh, with a man's head and dragon's wings, weighing twelve tons, and a lion, sculptured in the same manner, weighing nine tons. There are also several coffins, containing many curious relics of the manners and usages of Eastern countries regarding the ceremonies observed in burying their dead.

The portion of Oxford-street between South Moulton and New Bond-streets has been closed for traffic, in order to remove the ordinary macadamized paving and replace it with granite blocks, as being more durable and also more suitable to this portion of the street, which is a rapid decline to the hollow of Oxford-street, and which will now be assimilated with the lower portion of the descent, which was paved in a similar manner about a year since.

At the ordinary weekly meeting of the committee of the Lancashire Public School Association, held on Tuesday evening last, Mr. R. W. Smiles, the secretary, read a letter he had just received from Edward Lombe, Esq., of Great Melton Hall, Norfolk, accompanied by an order upon his bankers for £50, as his first annual subscription to the Funds of the Public School Association. At the same meeting the secretary reported on thirty letters relative to the proposed educational conference, which had been received during the week, from clergymen and gentlemen in various parts of the kingdom. Several of the writers sent subscriptions, others announced their intention to attend the conference, and almost all expressed sympathy with the objects of the movement and approbation of the means by which it is proposed to accomplish these objects.

Forty-five thousand pounds, in money and land, have been assigned over to trustees by Miss Howard, of York-place, for the following uses:—To erect twenty-one houses on her property at Pinner, near Harrow, in the form of a crescent, the centre house for the trustees, the other twenty houses for the use of twenty widows, who are to occupy them free of rent and taxes, and also to receive £50 a-year clear of all deductions. The widows of naval men to have the preference, then those of military men, and, lastly, those of clergymen; none but persons of good character to be selected, to be chosen or dismissed for misconduct, by the trustees. The deed is now enrolled in Chancery, and approved of by the Lord Chancellor. The trustees named are the Earl of Fingal and Mr. Mackinnon, M.P.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone of a literary and educational institute in Bury, to be called "The Athenæum," took place on Thursday; Lord Stanley, who is a great landowner in the town and district, having kindly consented to officiate, a procession in honour of the occasion was formed at half-past ten o'clock, which was attended by the members of the institution, the committee, and many gentlemen interested in its prosperity. The ceremony of laying the stone commenced at twelve o'clock. There was an immense concourse of people on the ground. Lord Stanley made a speech in favour of popular education, but warned the founders of the Athenæum against allowing the new institution to be turned into a mere news-room.

The freedom of the burgh of Dundee was conferred upon the Honourable Fox Maule on Friday. The ceremony took place in the Thistle-hall, which was crowded to excess, there being nearly 1000 persons present. The right honourable gentleman, in acknowledging the honour conferred upon him, referred to the part which he had taken in the political reforms of the country, in his connection with a Government who had ever advocated a liberal policy, and to the approval which the citizens of Dundee had so unequivocally expressed of that policy on his first election as the representative of Perthshire.

A meeting was held in Liverpool on Monday, at which a report was adopted declaring that the ship-building

trade of the port had suffered diminution from a variety of causes, the chief of which was the great want of space and accommodation in the present yards, the higher prices charged by them than at the outports, the insecurity of tenure, which has prevented the erection of machinery, and the continual removal of the builders' yards, and trade combinations amongst working shipwrights. The great injury to the tradespeople of Liverpool for the want of proper accommodation for ship-building might be seen in the evidence of Mr. McGregor, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Reston. In the year 1845 these gentlemen employed 2800 men, and paid £174,720 in wages; while at the present time they employ 890 men, at £55,536 wages per annum. The number of men employed by them in marine work has decreased from 2090 men, receiving £130,417 wages, to 240 men, receiving £14,976 wages, a decrease in wages for marine work alone, of £115,440 per annum. For the restoration of the trade the report recommends the provision of a convenient site for the erection of private yards and graving docks, and points out the most eligible position for these desirable establishments.

The whole of the manufacturing premises, occupying nearly half an acre of ground, belonging to Messrs. Brooke, tallowmelters, Southwark-bridge-road, were burnt to the ground, on Thursday night. The flames from so large a mass of combustibles mounted some hundred feet into the air, causing the district to be as light as noon.

Mrs. Graham, the veteran aeronaut, who, on Wednesday evening week, ascended with the Victoria and Albert balloon, from Vauxhall Gardens, for the benefit of the widow and family of the late unfortunate Lieutenant Gale, made a safe descent near the Temple-mills, in Hackney-marches. While she with several assistants were endeavouring to discharge the gas from the balloon, a party of brickmakers and several rough characters assembled. A man belonging to their party was suddenly thrown into the balloon, which was immediately burst by the concussion.

The *Cambridge Chronicle* contains accounts of three incendiary fires in that county during the week. One took place on the premises of Mr. W. Gray, at Littleton, which was not extinguished until nearly the whole premises were destroyed. The inmates of the house had great difficulty in saving themselves from the devouring element. The damage is estimated at upwards of £1000. Another and still more destructive fire took place at Stretton, which commenced in a bean stack belonging to the Reverend H. H. Baber, and resulted in a loss of property to the amount of £1500. The third fire was at Bassington, which destroyed agricultural produce to the amount of £400.

Mrs. Jane Ellis, aged twenty-four, the wife of an eating-house keeper, in Paddington-street, was burnt to death, on Sunday week, under the following shocking circumstances. While passing between a table and the fire-place, the skirt of a muslin dress she had on caught fire, and in a moment she was in a blaze from head to foot. Her husband attempted to extinguish the fire, but he did not succeed until the whole of her clothing to her stays was entirely consumed, and her neck, and lower part of her body were dreadfully burnt. She never rallied from the effects of the accident, and died on the Friday following.

The convict Hannah Curtis, who was left for execution at the last assizes for Gloucester on a charge of poisoning her husband at Frampton Cotterell, has had the sentence commuted into transportation for life.

A terrible accident occurred about a fortnight ago in a small village called Weiss, not far from Grex, whereby a great number of lives were lost. The village in question, which is also called "Our Saviour on the Meadow," is a favourite place of pilgrimage at this time of the year, and was more than ordinarily full on the day in question. The weary pilgrims had all retired to rest, and were sound asleep, when suddenly a fire broke out beneath a hay-loft, in which were a couple of hundred persons at the time. More than half of them are said to have perished in the flames, which speedily communicated with the adjoining houses, and a high wind blowing at the time, half the village was burnt down, and many more persons perished.

The *Freeman's Journal* says that arrangements for the formation of a new Roman Catholic University in Ireland are already in a state of forwardness, and that the four archbishops, with the other bishops and clergy nominated as a committee of arrangement by the Synod, will hold their first sitting in Dublin on the 16th instant.

A large provincial meeting was held on Saturday last at the Court House, Bandon, for the purpose of forming an agricultural school for Munster. The Earl of Bandon, who, with his son, Lord Bernard, M.P., attended the meeting, took the chair on the occasion, and a series of resolutions were passed in furtherance of the object.

The *Freeman's Journal* says that Mr. Hughes owes his appointment to the office of Solicitor-General to the chance he has of getting into the representation of Longford in Parliament by some satisfactory arrangement with one of the present members.

Mr. Sergeant Murphy, "having received confirmation from Mr. Fagan of his intention to retire as soon as the new registry shall be available," has announced his intention to commence his canvass of the constituency of Cork in the course of a few days.

The *Clare Journal* says:—"Since Friday last a young lady, highly respectable, has been missing from Kilkee; on that evening she went to walk, and has not been seen since. Her family are in great trouble, believing her to have fallen over some cliff, but it is the opinion of others that she has made a more happy exit, especially as it appears there were three or four thousand pounds at her own disposal. Report says that she and a young gentleman from Limerick were seen at Miltown. One of her brothers is gone there to ascertain the truth of this report."

Associative Progress.

WORKING ASSOCIATIONS OF PARIS.

THE WORKING JEWELLERS.

This is the oldest established of all the Parisian associations, as it was commenced in the year 1835 by a few workmen, who had read some excellent publications of the day (I quote from Giland's *Revue des Associations Ouvrières*) that advocated the principle of association, and used to be secretly distributed at night in the various localities frequented by operatives, dropped in the workshops, slipped under doors, and through window-shutters. It so happened that a working jeweller collected several of these papers that were pushed under the gateway of the house in which he lodged, where he found them every morning on his way to work. These he perused and carefully studied, communicated the discovery to his companions, who, being struck with the advantages that would accrue to them by adopting such an organization of labour, immediately determined to consider how they could put it in practice. Their fellow-workmen turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, their masters ridiculed the idea, but they, full of faith and courage, set to work according to their knowledge. They managed their affairs with skill and prudence, and when it was seen that they continued to exist and gain a livelihood for several years, their greatest opponents became their supporters, and recommended them in every direction. Eight years of toil and trouble, patient endurance, and steady perseverance, placed them in a position to realize considerable profits, when they received a severe check, owing to defects in their statutes and the selfish views of several members, who thought to benefit themselves by breaking up the association and seizing the profits, or by demanding large sums as the price of their forbearance. They were compelled to satisfy these unjust demands, and at the same time lost a great part of their customers, who went over to the seceding members. Nothing disheartened, they recommenced their work, reformed their statutes, and, among other improvements, introduced a law to compel every member entering the association to renounce for ever the right of establishing a private concern of his own, under a penalty of 25,000f. (£4000); and another, which requires a seventh part to be deducted from each man's salary to form a common fund for the purpose of perpetuating the association by modifying and extending its operations. They have avoided the error of an equality of wages by having the members paid according to their work, and the profits divided in proportion to the weekly salary of each. The whole body of members united in general assembly, elect the officers, and have supreme authority in all matters.

This society is remarkable for having a twofold object, viz., the moral and physical amelioration of its members. By securing to the labourer the means and instruments of labour he is made for ever independent of the capitalist, and placed in a position to gain a comfortable livelihood. By accustoming workmen to live together as brothers, instead of enemies trying to undersell and ruin each other, their moral nature is elevated and improved. But these men go farther; they instruct each other at their meetings and their homes in the duties of men and citizens, and encourage each other to fulfil those duties in obedience to the dictates of conscience, since a fault committed by one member would bring disgrace upon the whole society. This reflection, which is their great bond of union, is sufficient to preserve them affectionate, honest, and industrious. The number of members has never exceeded seventeen, and is now only eleven. They are in a prosperous condition, and out of thirty associations visited by the Government commission they alone were favourably noticed, and received the most commendatory language from M. Lefebvre-Durulé in his report to the Government, in consequence of which they were granted 25,000 francs out of the 3,000,000. They have four branch establishments in Paris, and send their products, of the most exquisite taste, original designs, and superior workmanship, to every part, not only of France, but of Europe and America. Their chief establishment is in the Rue St. Martin, 253, under the title of the firm of Leroy, Thibaut, and Co. Here, then, is a standing refutation of the calumnies and objections against associations of workmen, for here is one that, founded in 1835, with only four members and a capital of 200 francs, can boast an existence of fifteen years! during which time the number of members has been nearly trebled, the sphere of operations immensely extended, and a sum of money amassed as a common fund that will enable them to perpetuate the association to an indefinite period, and withstand the shocks of a commercial crisis. Is there anything in the atmosphere or institutions of England to prevent our own countrymen from following their example? I am indebted for the greater part of the above account to Giland's excellent little work on the associations.

THE WATCHMAKERS.

The Rue de Berry is situated in a labyrinth of narrow dirty streets, between the Rue du Temple and the Boulevard of the same name, for such are ever the humble abodes in which the poor and industrious workmen are obliged to commence their peaceful campaign against the tyranny of competition. A dark passage and narrow staircase, as usual, lead to two rooms in which timepieces of every variety, of the most valuable and delicate workmanship, are in course of manufacture or repair, besides musical snuff-boxes and other objects of luxury usually found at a watchmaker's. In January, 1849, three sober, industrious workmen joined together to form an association, without any resources whatever, except the tools they brought; and, in the course of eighteen months, they increased to fourteen members, having done business to the amount of 25,000f. (£1000), paid about 4000f. (£160) to hired journeymen, and 3000f. (£120) to themselves as salary, having agreed to receive only 15f. a-week each, in order to meet the expenses of the establishment, which, in so costly a species of manufacture, it may well be conceived must have been numerous and considerable. At first, indeed, they received only 1f. a-day, though the adherents (members not yet admitted into the association, but elected in turn, as the business extends) receive now as much as 21f. a-week; and the hired workmen, who are all paid by the piece, can earn sometimes 30f. a-week. Owing to the prevailing prejudice against associations of workmen, the oppositions and petty annoyances of the Government, this association has still many difficulties to contend with, and has been compelled to reduce its number to six members, the others obtaining work as they can of master-watchmakers. When we consider what these noble fellows have accomplished, and the means at their disposal—for they commenced with absolutely nothing—we are almost led to contradict the saying of the old philosophers, *ex nihilo nihil fit*; however, they had one or two little things called industry, and independent spirit, and a courageous heart: these were their capital, and a terrible struggle it was for them at the commencement; but they possessed what I have so frequently met with in my visits to these associations—a determined, unconquerable spirit, that they would rather perish with hunger in a ditch than forsake the principle of association; and this spirit has carried them triumphantly through all their difficulties.

J. E. S.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—Moneys received for the week, ending September 30:—Leeds, £17s.; Huddersfield, Mr. Gledhill, 9s. 6d.; Worcester, Mr. F. Jones, 14s. 4d. Communal Building Fund, Leeds, 5s.

THE PARKHEAD COÖPERATIVE STORE.—The nineteenth anniversary of the Parkhead Coöperative Victualing Society was held on the 27th instant, when about 100 of the members, with their wives and sweethearts, sat down to an excellent supper. At the conclusion of the repast several of the members delivered interesting addresses on the benefits they had derived from the society, and on the social and moral results which might accrue to the working classes generally, if the principle of coöperation was more generally acted on. The sales of this society amount to from £1400 to £1600 per quarter, and members, besides being supplied with cheaper and better provisions, and shoes, and various articles of clothing, than could be obtained from other dealers, have an average dividend amongst them of £120 yearly. Their permanent stock amounts to £350: all profits accumulated above this sum are divided equally among the members. I think it would be a great improvement if they (and all other similar societies) would adopt the plan of the Galashiels Coöperative Society, and allow a portion of the profits to accumulate as a sunk fund, for the purpose of extending their operations. I have lately received an important letter from the secretary of the Galashiels Society, minutely detailing their mode of proceeding. I intend to lay it before the committee of the Parkhead Society, in the hope of inducing them to adopt the principle which has proved so successful in Galashiels. Ten weeks ago the inhabitants of Camlachie commenced operations for the purpose of establishing a coöperative store. They called a public meeting of those favourable to the object; they divided the village into seven wards, and appointed two wardmen for each ward, whose duty it is to go through their wards every Saturday evening and collect cash, and endeavour to obtain new members. Already seventy shares of 10s. each are subscribed for, and new members are being added every week. All money is lodged in the Bank until a sufficient sum is accumulated to commence operations. All office-bearers are performing their duty faithfully without fee or reward. They have agreed to act on the Galashiels plan.

COÖPERATION IN PAISLEY.—A public meeting, with a view of commencing a coöperative (provision) store, was lately held in New-street, Paisley. "The meeting was one," says the *Glasgow Post*, "which, for numbers and respectability, gives every encouragement to the scheme propounded, which has for its object the welfare of the deserving and industrious classes. Mr. John McIntyre opened the meeting by giving a brief account of the objects contemplated. The resolutions bearing on the subject were unanimously adopted."

THE GALASHIELS PROVISION STORE COMPANY have just opened a third branch for the sale of groceries, &c., and also a shop for the sale of butcher meat.—W. S.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Press of matter compels us to defer till next week the insertion of several communications; amongst them two letters of considerable interest, from George Sunter and "A Scottish Democrat."

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, Sept. 28.

Her Majesty and Prince Albert went out walking in the early part of Wednesday. Prince Albert afterwards went out shooting. The Earl of Aberdeen, who arrived at Balmoral on Wednesday, and Sir Edwin Landseer, who has been there for some days, dined with her Majesty on Wednesday. At the Privy Council, on Tuesday, it was resolved that the Parliament, which stands prorogued to Tuesday, the 15th day of October next, be further prorogued to Thursday, the 14th day of November next.

A meeting was held in the Great Rooms at Uxbridge, on Tuesday evening, to hear an exposition of the principles of the National Reform Association. Mr. H. J. Slack said the association was really what it professed to be; it was truly national in its principles and objects:—

"The first aim of the association was such an extension of the suffrage as would confer the right to be registered as an elector upon every man of full age, not subject to any legal disability, who had for twelve months occupied a tenement, or a portion of one, for which he had claimed to be rated to the relief of the poor. He knew that there were numbers who advocated manhood suffrage, maintaining that the sacred right of voting was inherent, not in the bricks and mortar, but in the man, (*Cheers*) What he would impress upon such persons was, that the proposed enfranchisement was one of very great extent. He did not stand there as the advocate of 'finality'; he detested the word; but he maintained that they might consistently be contented to pass through an intermediate space in order to attain the ultimate end. (*Hear, hear*) With this view they should endeavour to unite as many reformers as possible. This country now contained between six and seven millions of adults, and of these only about 800,000 possessed the franchise. If the first principle of the association was carried into effect, there would be 3,000,000 electors. What was contemplated was, in fact, a lodger suffrage—that every one who occupied a lodging, and went through a formal process of rating—for it need be nothing more than formal—should have a vote, and as the great bulk of the industrious classes in this country resided in their abodes as permanently as the wealthy classes, it would be seen that under what was proposed scarcely any adult need be without the franchise."

Mr. George Thompson delivered a long and able speech in which he exposed the evils of the present mischievous system. Unless they had a real representation of the tax-paying community, it would be better for them to place the power of laying on the taxes in the hands of two or three men than in 656. The latter, though personally interested in the maintenance of high taxes, profess to represent the nation, and, consequently, the people are said to be taxed by themselves, and cannot complain in the manner they might and would, if a few men were individually and personally responsible for the laying on of these impositions.

A resolution, declaratory of confidence in the association, was then carried unanimously; and a vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the proceedings.

A "farewell group meeting" of the emigrants connected with the Family Colonization Loan Society, who are to sail from Gravesend on the 30th instant, was held in the Royal British Institution, City-road, yesterday evening. Mr. Wyndham Harding stated that fifty families and forty young girls are going out by a vessel, who have subscribed about £1400 towards the expenses of their transit. Mr. Lowe, a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, spoke of much approbation of the principle of the association:—

"The principle was not eleemosynary, but that of sending out the emigrants at their own expense, and for that he admired it, because it would work out and demonstrate the enormous power of coöperation, and show how it could be made to work out any good object that was required. Not a shilling was asked to be given to the society; but what was wanted was a floating capital, which might be contributed by the upper classes, which, being returned, should afford the means of at once relieving the labour-market of this country, and of enabling the working classes to find remunerated labour and happy homes in the colonies. The emigrants who were going out now were not doing so only to better their condition, but also as the pioneers of a great principle, and upon their conduct depended the destinies of hundreds and thousands of men hereafter. If they returned the money advanced to them it would be proved that the working classes were worthy of confidence; the system would progress, and the money returned would be the means of sending out others, and continuing the working of the principle."

The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. Vernon Smith, Lord Clifford, Mr. Sydney, and Mr. Mosman.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1850.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in its eternal progress.—**DR. ARNOLD.**

CORK INDUSTRIAL WORKHOUSE.

THE Sheffield experiment is admirably supported by that at Cork, for an account of which we are indebted to our contemporary, the *Daily News*. It is a new and most gratifying proof of the extent to which the great questions of industry, produce, and land are forcing themselves on the attention of all parties. Yes, "it moves"; and the feeble, almost the confessedly yielding resistance of objectors and doubters, attests the progress that we are making towards sounder knowledge and practice.

Here, on the ground of the Poor-law,—as we hope to show, if God shall have permitted our labour to proceed,—the Associative idea may be brought to practice, and the very antagonists of Association—antagonists because they do not understand—will learn what that idea is, by working it out for themselves in material practice.

The differences in the Cork experiment are just such as were most desirable to test the soundness of the principle. The industry of the paupers, thus far, has been devoted, in great part, to secondary employments—by which we mean, not the raising of produce, nor its simplest preparations for the essential needs of life, but transmutations of raw material into the conveniences of civilized life; and yet the effect has been still more marked than that at Sheffield in some particulars most intelligible to the public at large. The influence of genuine industrial occupation on the discipline of a huge number of paupers, some thousands, is most striking: they are contented, cheerful, and orderly! That incalculable moral benefit has been attained without the slightest addition of cost to the ratepayers,—on the contrary, concurrently with it, the cost of each pauper has actually been reduced 25 per cent., and the gross amount of rates has been still more diminished, no doubt in part by the effect of a genuine labour test as a detriment to idleness and an example to industry—consequences which we noted at Sheffield. We assert rather than deny that the blessing of better seasons has contributed to this effect; but it is always most happy when the laws of man are thus seen working harmoniously with the laws of God to augment the blessings of the earth.

Some time since a deputation waited on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to bespeak his attention to various operations going forward towards the improvement of the country, and he was asked to encourage this Cork experiment. He made two objections,—both strictly belonging to the political economy of the old books. He was told that if the Cork workhouse were permitted to develop its industry it might become self-supporting; to which he objected that it would then interfere with the market of the independent trader. This is a double fallacy. One half of it has been unanswerably refuted by Matthew Hill, in speaking of labour in reformatory prisons. The dependants of the state, whether paupers or prisoners, must be maintained somehow; and if they are not permitted to maintain themselves, as the independent citizen may, they must be maintained by the independent citizen through rates and taxes. And in that form he pays additionally, for the collection of rates and taxes, for the paupers or prisoners who are such through the inefficiency of the corrective process, and for other sources of national loss. The other half of the fallacy is peculiar to Ireland: the thing which prevents the development of industry in Ireland is the triple want of tranquillity, capital, and example. For those wants genuine industry and trade are not redundant, as in England, but deficient, as compared with population and land; and, therefore, the operation which is now carried on in the Cork workhouse, without the aid of Lord Clarendon, is of the precise kind to supply the triple want, and so really to do that which the poor-law of Elizabeth

so wisely proposed to do—to set the poor on work. And, not only will it check pauperism, but it must also most powerfully aid the development of industry and trade, by eking out the deficient capital in one of the readiest temporary modes, by encouraging tranquillity, and by upholding a practical example. It will not "interfere" with trade and industry, but powerfully encourage, support, and help them.

The other objection made by Lord Clarendon was, that if he were to fall in with the wishes of the deputation, he would be making the workhouse into something like the national workshops of France. Now, we do not accuse Lord Clarendon of sharing the dishonesty which ascribes those "workshops" to Louis Blanc; who has incontestably proved that he was not answerable for them. They were established by M. Marie, an opponent of Communism, either in the panic-stricken canting wish to anticipate the cry of the hour although opposed to his own convictions, or else with the still more dishonest intention of anticipating some Associative establishment, and thus securing that apparent failure which would crown his treacherous subversion. The workshops of France should be called Marie's Folly, or Marie's Fraud. We say that we do not suspect Lord Clarendon of any fraudulent knowledge in re-uttering that forgery; but what he did mean, of course, was, that, to obey the wish of the deputation, would be to set up an Associative establishment. Now, that is true, but the example cited by Lord Clarendon is false: the workshops which failed were Anti-Associative; the Cork experiment, which is advancing so successfully, is truly Associative. Lord Clarendon is right: he has stamped with its true character the experiment now rising to refute his fears.

We might hesitate to reproclaim the viceregal verity, lest the promoters of the Cork experiment should be alarmed by the word Associative; but we do not hesitate, because the practical success is too obvious to the promoters, too justly gratifying to their pride, too immediately satisfactory to the ratepayers, for them to be frightened off by a word. We also perceive that that once terrible word,—once whispered only to be denounced,—is now growing familiar in Parliament and in Town Council, in Viceregal presence and in parish meetings; familiar, and daily less mistrusted; nay, even in the minds of those not yet quite converted, it is allied with the newest, best, and most hopeful ideas of improvement. It is no longer frightful, but only too promising, too poetically attractive. We shall see: we have Lord Clarendon's authority for saying that the Cork experiment is of the Associative nature, and we are willing to let it illustrate the truths of Association to vouch its promises.

The Cork guardians, with the sanction of the Irish Poor-law Commissioners, are about to add a farm to their establishment—so much has their practical success advanced beyond Lord Clarendon's henlike alarms! The experiment, therefore, is not only brought to bear upon the organization of industry, but upon the land; and thus it is carried to the very basis of industry and of Social existence. The intelligence of the Cork guardians is a most encouraging public fact: they and the Sheffield guardians are truly performing the most noble work which can be rendered by the patriot of our day—leading the people from bondage to the promised land. While others are talking and writing they are doing. Mr. Toulmin Smith has a right to point to both these examples of local intelligence and energy taking the lead in the work of the day. And be this fundamental truth ever borne in mind,—that while the competitive market in secondary employments may be overstocked, until "redundant population" finds industry fail to attain even the promise of "the curse,"—we are using the orthodox language of authority in theology and economy—industry actually employed in creating produce, and in its primary preparation for human wants, can never be redundant. In primary produce, "plenty" is always a blessing. The Cork guardians, therefore, are adding to their most interesting and intelligent experiment that sound basis on which the sagacious Yorkshiremen founded their experiment at Sheffield.

THE SCHOOL SCANDAL AT WOOLWICH AND CARSHALTON.

PERPETUAL failure waits on endeavour that refuses to recognize fact; and one of the most lamentable instances of this choice to go wrong is exhibited in the low state of education, even among our wealthier classes, who might command every

We regret to learn that his grace the Duke of Newcastle is in such a precarious state of health as to leave but little hope of his recovery. The knowledge of this circumstance has caused a general feeling of regret throughout the district, among parties entertaining different political opinions. The demise of his son, Lord William Clinton, has augmented the grief of his grace's numerous relatives and tenants. Lord Lincoln, with Lords Charles and Robert and the Ladies Clinton, are in attendance on their noble parent. Prayers were offered for his grace on Sunday last in Workshop and other churches in the neighbourhood.—*Morning Post.*

The writ for the election of a new member for Cambridge University in the room of the Right Honourable Charles E. Law, was issued from the Crown-office on Thursday afternoon, and transmitted by that night's mail to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, by whom the day of election is to be appointed.

The *Glasgow Daily Mail* contains a report of an interesting public meeting which took place on Thursday evening in that city on the slave-trade question. It was called by the Lord Provost, in compliance with a numerous and influentially-signed requisition, and was held in the City-hall, for the purpose of considering the propriety of adopting resolutions, and appointing a committee to prepare petitions to the Legislature in favour of enforcing the treaties ratified between Great Britain, Spain, and Brazil, for the suppression of the slave trade.

It is now certain that the loss of life consequent on the loss of the *Superb*, is far greater than has yet been stated. Upon a comparison of the passenger list of the vessel, with the names of those saved, it has been ascertained that at least seventeen persons have been lost, and from enquiries which have been made, it is feared that, in addition to those, there were four other sufferers. Mr. Willis and niece, Mr. Pinson, Mrs. Baker and child, and a native of Jersey, name unknown, were amongst those drowned. A coroner's inquest is sitting, and the circumstances attending the calamity will no doubt receive a searching investigation. The *Superb*, which was left high and dry on the rocks by the receding tide, after the accident, has now disappeared, having sunk in deep water. It appears pretty certain that this catastrophe is mainly attributable to the culpable acquiescence of Captain Piriaux in the desire of some of the passengers to pass close to the wreck of the *Polka*. It is also asserted that if the captain had remained on board, and used his authority for the maintenance of order, no one need have had even a wet foot, but, that instead of endeavouring to control the panic, which almost invariably follows such an occurrence, he was one of the first to originate it. Some of the attendant circumstances of this catastrophe are painfully interesting. The two children of Mr. Jackson, who had been rescued from the *Polka* the week before, were on the deck, and, on first seeing the rocks, enquired what their name was. The reply was, "The Minquiers;" but the poor father added, "I think they ought to be called the *Polka Rocks*!" Scarcely had the words been uttered when the vessel struck, and the enquirers were precipitated by the shock into the water, and were seen no more.

We are glad to learn that the result of the West Riding is such as to leave no doubt of the triumphant return of Mr. Cobden at the next election, unless the Reformers are divided. The advantage to the Liberals in all the large towns is very considerable, their net gain being in Leeds, 161; in Bradford, 152; in Halifax, 78; in Barnsley, 37; in Sheffield, 42: total in five districts, 470.

A very alarming and destructive fire broke out on Thursday night, at the Grove, near the floating harbour, Bristol, and, notwithstanding the efforts used to subdue it, it continued to rage with unabated fury for many hours, placing the shipping in the floating harbour, among which were many first class vessels ready for sea, in jeopardy. The total damage cannot be estimated at less than £2000. Among the property, either destroyed or greatly injured, were a number of fine paintings by the old masters, belonging to Mr. Gomersall, jun., the comedian.

From the reports in various German papers, it appears that a general movement of foreign troops toward the Hessian frontier is taking place.

The *Cassel Gazette*, published at Frankfurt, contains a proclamation from the Elector, denying the right of the Chamber to refuse the Government the necessary taxes, and gives the following resolutions of the Diet, the ancient enemy of all constitutional rights:—

"1. The Electoral Government is called upon to apply all the means possessed by a Government of this confederation to establish the rightful authority of the Sovereign, now menaced in the electorate. 2. The said Government is at the same time desired to report, without delay, to this Assembly any proceedings taken by it in pursuance of the foregoing direction, together with their result. 3. The Diet reserves the right of ordaining further proceedings necessary for securing or restoring the legal state of relations between the Government and nation of Hesse-Cassel."

At Cassel the Permanent Committee and the officers of the various civil departments are waiting to learn the nature of the measures threatened by Hasselburg. Meanwhile they are not idle. On the 23rd the Permanent Committee, upon the receipt of memorials from Fulda, preferred two indictments for violation of the constitution, through the attempted execution of the ordinances of September 7th, against Major-General Schirmer and the Bürgermeister Mackenrodt. The court is now occupied with the preliminary investigation of these two cases.

The large spinning manufactory near Thann, Haut Rhin, was destroyed by fire on the 15th. More than 200 workmen are thrown out of employ.

resource. The disclosure, which we copy from the *Times*, respecting the military school at Woolwich and its preparatory branch at Carshalton, is a tale to make every sustainer of our public school system hang his head with shame.

The objects and the very nature of human life are overlooked, in the presumption that they ought to be something different from what they are; and in the attempt to make the young human being what he "ought" to be, the mode of making him what he might be is overlooked. The causes of the wrong are to be traced with tolerable distinctness through the results.

It is assumed that so-called "religious" teaching ought to suffice for moral culture and guidance, and teachers of all Christian persuasions in this country rely more or less on that book which, containing as it does so many sublime truths and lessons, also contains actual suggestions of vice. The continued failure of this moral training—and wonderful is the fact—does not weaken the faith in it; but the failure of the system is madly imputed to the innate turpitude of those who are subjected to it. It is presumed that "religion" ought alone to train the youthful mind and heart; it fails, and the teachers charge their constant failure, not upon themselves and their system, but upon their pupils! Ask them, then, if the system fails even by reason of such presumed turpitude, to try another system suited to the erring youth with whom it is their business to deal, and you are assailed as an "infidel": the system is more sacred than the scholars: it is more pious to rear devils by a system that "ought" to make them angels, than to rear up honest, healthy, manly men by a system of less pretension, and devised more strictly according to the thing trained.

Again, the "gentleman" is distinguished by a superior education, which the professors have attained by very hard study: it is presumed that hard study is absolutely good, that it makes men learned, unless they are perverse; and that to be learned, in some fashion, is the grand object of tuition. Now, the bent towards erudition is a special bent, not natural to the majority of minds, which are placed in that school Procrustes' bed. They cannot acquire the sort of instruction imparted; the instruction of which they are capable is neglected. The essential branches of knowledge need never be difficult; but enormous time is wasted, by the majority of scholars, in attempting to acquire what nature denies the faculty of retaining or using. Hence much ignorance of those things which might be learned and used; much need for learning after school days are over. Also, and most lamentable is the wide-spread social fact, much unhealthy cerebral excitement, leading to waste of bodily strength, even of mental strength, and to morbid derangements of the natural instincts and feelings—premature developments, fantastical perversions, and degeneracy. The average boy, wearied with uncongenial teaching, stimulated to the highest point in his brain, familiar with wicked suggestions in authors "sacred" and classic, is left to himself, in all his amusements, without guide; and thus, even where healthy exercises might restore the balance of nature, there, precisely there, he, over-excited, guideless, unadvised, untaught in this, is exposed to the most active temptations. And, because he goes wrong under such a system, we do not turn round with indignation upon that system, but exclaim at the proof of original sin! It is shocking, this yearly, daily sacrifice of the young—this sacrifice of the faculties of the next generation to the Juggernaut of bigotry.

But we do far worse. In our training we confound good and bad, and we deliberately withhold from youth counsel where it is most needed. If by chance we detect the impulses innate in humanity, sacred in the eye of true religion, as to the creature all the laws by which the Creator works must be—if we detect the inevitable, nay, the anxiously wished-for germ of those impulses, we treat them as something bad, not be discussed:—

"Speak we not of them, but look and pass."

Youth, cast back to its unguided impulses, confused, positively taught not to discriminate between what is natural, straightforward, good, and what unnatural, perverted, bad—deprived thus even of his natural instinctive guide—weakened by luxury, unhardened, unstrengthened by the manly training which we associate with more barbarous, because more warlike, times—confused thus, over-excited, softened, perverted in sense and mind,—thus is it that youth is left to stray among the artificial temptations of civilized life.

And the teacher, to be more impressive, makes

himself stern, unsympathizing. He to whom youth might go for advice, repels adviceless youth by his rigour—is absent from the sports of youth, or enters into them so ill that they are constrained and altered in his view. Or if by chance youth does seek support and counsel, then is it repelled by austerity and shame-provoking censure. Youth is furnished with no companions but the guideless and the profligate. Such, on the whole, is our system: its history is illustrated this week by the disclosures of the *Times*, as it might at any week, in other disastrous forms of illustration, from many another public school where the professors are alien to the pupils.

Nor is the error apparent only in schools, so called. It pervades all society. We boast our refinements, our peace, our polished condition, and we detect degeneracy in the very flower of society. And then, with a folly and wickedness as inconceivable as they are familiar, we declare in the name of religion that it is not our system which is refuted, but that it is a blasphemous dogma which is proved. We presume to train the tree by virtue of a culture dictated by some occult mystery, not by the laws of botany and physiology drawn from the nature of plants and their bent; and when the tree twists and sickens, we cry out that it ever comes so from the hands of its Creator. We treat its very flowering as wickedness—"original sin"—and when it flowers ill, we curse it.

And whole generations pay for this obstinate perversity! That is the pity of it. Are these frightful lessons, then—these real "judgments" on those who break the laws of God, visited on the flower of the nation—ever to befall in vain?

IRON AND COTTON—A FULL STOP.

Two great branches of English industry are at present in an unsatisfactory condition.

Judging from what has taken place during the last five years, it appears very evident that the cotton trade, instead of doubling itself every ten years, as it did from 1820 up to 1840, has begun to decline. The weekly consumption for 1850 is now nearly 2000 bales less than that of 1846, while the population depending on the cotton trade for subsistence has been rapidly increasing.

In the iron trade the prospect is much more disastrous. Through that vicious system of over production, which our "surplus labour and capital" render so easy, whenever a brisk demand arises, the iron market has been completely glutted; and now the masters, with a view to prevent prices from falling, talk of lessening the production one-third. Should they succeed in carrying this proposal into effect, there will be a reduction of one-third in the amount of wages paid to the population employed in this branch of industry. After toiling hard for a year or two, and learning to live in an expensive and wasteful manner—for want of education and uncertainty of livelihood prevent their acquiring habits of economy and thrift—the iron-workers will suddenly find themselves thrown back into comparative poverty by the operation of a system over which they have no control. As Carlyle remarks of another class of workmen exposed to similar vicissitudes:—

"Economy does not exist among them; their trade now in plethoric prosperity, anon extenuated into inanition and 'short time,' is of the nature of gambling; they live by it like gamblers, now in luxurious superfluity, now in starvation. Black mutinous discontent devours them; simply the miserablest feeling that can inhabit the heart of man. English commerce, with its world-wide convulsive fluctuations, with its immeasurable Proteus steam-demon, makes all paths uncertain for them, all life a bewilderment; sobriety, steadfastness, peaceable continuance, the first blessings of man, are not theirs."

In the cotton trade, upon which a population nearly equal to that of all London, with its multitudinous suburbs, entirely depends for subsistence, these "convulsive fluctuations" are of frequent occurrence. It is only three years since the consumption of cotton, and along with that the amount of wages paid, was reduced, nearly for a whole twelvemonth, one-third below what it had been during the previous two years. Under the *laissez faire* system the cotton trade has become the largest branch of British industry. It supplies nearly one-half of our exports, and gives food to about one-tenth of the population of Great Britain. But fluctuation is not the worst calamity to which it is liable: what if the whole were stopped? Our main supply of the raw material is from the United States; and one not improbable accident might arrest all our spindles and looms without a day's warning: a servile war

in the Southern States would cut off the supply of cotton at once, and no one can say how soon that may happen. And mere free trade would have us rely on the chapter of accidents!

GARDEN HUSBANDRY.

AFTER stating that the advantage derivable from spade husbandry, both as to employment and produce, can scarcely be questioned, a correspondent of the *Daily News* gives the result of an experiment he lately made in the planting of wheat. For several seasons he planted in his garden single grains of wheat, in holes six inches apart, with twelve inches between the rows. Each grain thus planted produced from thirty-five to forty ears, containing altogether from 1200 to 1600 grains. Now, here is a specimen of what might be done by any industrious man upon a small piece of fertile land. Suppose an acre of wheat to be cultivated at this rate, the produce would be, on the most moderate calculation, six or eight times greater than what most farmers obtain from the soil, under their present barbarous, costly, and imperfect system of cultivation.

PLOUGHING TOO MUCH.

At the annual dinner of the Cumberland and Westmorland Agricultural Society, last week, Sir James Graham, in the course of some remarks on the prospects of agriculture, said, "he was decidedly of opinion that, hitherto, our fault had been, ploughing too much." We quite agree with him, though not precisely in the same sense as he spoke. He wishes to encourage grazing and the laying down a greater portion of land in grass, which would lessen the number of persons employed in the cultivation of the soil. We wish to see the spade or the fork superseding the plough, with a view to obtain a larger amount of produce from the soil, and, at the same time, to provide remunerative and healthy employment for tens of thousands who cannot find work in towns, and who now waste their days in degrading idleness. As for laying down a greater portion of land in grass throughout England, that is what the country cannot afford. To do so would, no doubt, enable the landlord to obtain a larger share of the produce in the shape of rent; but it would furnish much less employment for labour, and yield a much smaller quantity of food.

JUSTICE TO IRELAND.

FROM a Parliamentary return relating to Irish agriculture, it appears that the aggregate value of all the live stock in Ireland is only £20,671,668, which is equal to about 30s. per acre for the whole of the 14,000,000 of acres under cultivation. This single fact shows what an increase of capital is wanted before the soil can be properly cultivated. In England an enterprising, intelligent farmer has seldom less than £10 worth of live stock for every acre he holds; so that, if justice were done to Irish agriculture, the aggregate value of live stock in the four provinces, instead of being little more than £20,000,000, ought to be six times that amount, or upwards of £120,000,000. How many years it will take to place Ireland in that prosperous condition will depend chiefly on the system of land-tenure which can be established. We are glad to see that the Tenant-Right movement is going briskly forward. With the exception of Mr. Cobden, our English politicians are not yet taking much notice of it. We thought Mr. Bright would have been the great champion of the Land question, especially after his visit to Ireland; but he has been very silent on the subject for the last twelve months.

SOCIAL REFORM.

EPISTOLE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM.

XI.—INDUSTRY: ITS BONDAGE.

TO ERASMUS.

October 1, 1850.

MY DEAR ERASMUS,—The working classes labour under evils which need not exist: they might share plenty, comfort, and all the refinements of art: they are oppressed with curses, by laws continued from day to day at the will of our lawmakers.

You and I agree on this point, that we may do our best towards retrieving the condition of our countrymen, of whom the vast proportion are sunk in a bad way of life. We speak of them in the cumulative and abstract form, as "the working classes," and so dull our perception to the fact that they are men and women; otherwise we could not suffer things to go on as they do. I have no wish to quibble: I do not like to hear the working classes call themselves "slaves," they are not individually in bondage to individual will, which is the sting in slavery. They may, indeed, be subjected to a sort of temporary slavery under the master of a work-house; but proportionately few enter into that detestable abode. Still, the class is in bondage to

circumstances; and the exasperating part of this bondage is, that the oppressive circumstances need not exist.

I keep in mind the principle with which I started, that we must care less for goods than for human beings. Our present economy tends to the very reverse: compare the admirable, the perfect condition in which goods,—say pieces of cotton, or packages of hardware,—leave the factory, the tissue braced up in every thread, the blade polished and edged to the most lustrous keenness; and then, entering the factory, see the state of the work-people—jaded, rude, degenerate. We devote all our anxiety to the goods, and leave the makers to shift for themselves.

Look at the working man's mode of life. Do not be led away by the theory of books on economy, but look at the life as it is to be seen in reality. You are told that division of employments renders labour more productive, and increases the enjoyment of "mankind," which is true of the "markind" among whom bookmakers live; but how is it with working mankind? You are told that with diligence, providence, and intelligence a working man may elevate himself "to the first offices of the state," and people point to a Peel: but how many Peels are there born among "the million"? Look at the actual situation of any average working man as it really is. Take a weaver or a farm labourer. The farm labourer toils from dawn till night—except when "out of work," and then he enjoys a holiday of starvation. Read the accounts of the *Morning Chronicle* rural commissioner early in this year—where he found Devonshire peasants dwelling in clay-floored cottages, all sleeping in one room, living, perhaps, on potato or cabbage.* Now, follow a man of that class through the day: see him get up, comfortless, not hopeful, going to his work under the compulsion of sheer necessity; toiling all day—remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow—returning at noon, dreary and slow, to a meal of cabbage or potato; back to work, half-satisfied, half-hungry still, jaded and dreary, working till night, with a wash of supposititious "tea"; superfluous to the crowded, desecrated bed; up again next morning, and so on, a dreary round—the labourer himself dreary and slow, and not efficient at all; a dreary round, broken by Sunday's idleness,—the level idleness broken by the monotonous voice of the parish clergyman, speaking in a fine foreign tongue half understood. Beer lends its passing transport when it may. But you know this round, Erasmus: tell me if it is better where you are. Tell me if you see in that dreary, stupefying round any part where the average man may escape unaided.

The factory town, perhaps, I know better than you. I know the sound of the factory bell at early dark; I remember—for I have seen it often—the "abatement" of threepence for being too late when "the engine gaited"; I remember the ceaseless whirr of the weaving-room, broken thrice for meals—the human being bound to the galloping car of the loom; released at night, weary and good for nothing. "Short time" has made the bondage less severe; but the confinement lasts the day. The home is less comfortless; but average human energy cannot do more than keep pace with the headlong engine. It is early to rise, to spend the day in the mill; home at evening to the humble house, a short rest, a sleep at night, and back to the mill next day. Life is spent between supplying the bodily wants and watching

the shuttle. Flag in the race, and you sink into the pauper.

And if there is no escape for such as these, where is the escape for the needlewoman, toiling all day to earn twopenny or threepence: of the waistcoat-maker; of the tailor, working for a middleman, at minimized wages?

What provision is there for sickness or old age—save the grudging "club" or the more grudging workhouse? A mean dole, embittered by dishonour.

I say the life of the average working man is one of toil, of privation, of confinement to a mechanical routine, from which there is no escape—wearied labour, hard fare, no hope of change. They tell you in the books that division of employments augments produce; there is one division of employments that the labourer feels most keenly, the division of the employment of making demands upon him. He labours, and out of the returns the landlord asks for rent,—a fee for a resting-place on the surface of the planet; the employer takes his "profit"; the middleman takes his profit; the capitalist takes his "interest," the collector takes his "tax": out of the produce of the labourer's weary hands, before he can use any of it, either for his hungry self, or his dear mate, or his children, hand after hand grasps a share for rent, for first profit, second profit, interest, and tax; and each grasps as much as he can: the rest is for the labourer! Yet so precious is that little that he and his fellow, in competition with each other, to keep some and buy favour of the employers, are daily offering to keep less. With that rest the labourer goes into the market of trade to purchase his needs.

The books tell you that want stimulates industry, by spurring the labourer: the facts tell you that want, in this hopeless shape, makes him dull. The books tell you that division of employments, as compared, for instance, say with the rude life of an early settler in the colonies, augments the return of labour: the facts tell you that, trade being no sufficient guide for divided industry, where no concert is, less perishable goods are multiplied indefinitely; but that the labourer, turned to a machine, is losing his artistic zeal in his work, is losing the guarantee of a return for his labour. The books tell you that competition is finding out new channels of industry: the facts tell you that, in the blind endeavour to obtain "employment," the working classes are multiplying the secondary kinds of labour, and developing huge returnless branches of industry. The idea is, that if a man will but "work" he shall subsist: he does multiply "works" until nobody wants them, and he will waste a life in making silk for surplus umbrellas in the hope of obtaining half a subsistence. And when it comes to this, the books give you the most fanciful reasons for his sunken condition. See how Porter, like a statistical Dante, bodies forth the supposititious sins that account for the existence of a Bethnal-green:—

"It is but rarely we meet with any one that is not in, at least, decent apparel, except it be a mendicant, whose garb is assumed as an auxiliary to his profession. Those who, through improvidence or misfortune, are unprovided with clothes of a good quality, which the improving customs of the people have made necessary, render homage to the feeling whereby that improvement has been brought about, and for the most part remain within their homes. The silk-weavers of London, who are located in Spitalfields and Bethnal-green and their vicinity, are, too many of them, a very improvident class of people, so that many of them are unprovided with any other clothing than their working dresses. It has been attributed to this circumstance that those among them who reside in the town provide themselves amusement by keeping pigeons, great numbers of which are always to be seen in Spitalfields; while those who live in the suburbs employ much of their leisure time in the cultivation of flowers."

This it is to be at the mercy of assumed necessities and a system of assumptions. An honest man than Porter I believe does not exist, nor one better "informed;" but political economy runs upon a pattern, for want of original minds. A better light is at last dawning upon it.

The remedies which the old-fashioned philosophers propose are the most fanciful of their devices. One, in agriculture, for instance, is, "more capital"—which is to aggravate the tyranny of capital over labour. Better diffused capital—"stock" more directly employed upon the land—that would be sense; but to bring the mere city system upon the land would only be to convert our fields, still blest with some traces of nature, into a factory hell. "More trade," cries the final free-trader—that is, more whirling toil, more distraction of industry. "Temperance," go without beer, and you shall thrive, cries Father Mathew: why, excellent

preacher! there are thousands who cannot find the copper coin for beer, and they are precisely the lowest. "Moral restraint," cries the Malthusian—himself a comfortable father of a family; or, being a man of the world, a discreet user of "the usual substitute" for marriage, which fills our streets at night with outcasts. He preaches "moral restraint" in defiance of natural feeling; as if the instinctive impulse of nature could be held in abeyance until man should grant his philosophic permission for the original decree of the Creator to take effect. "Education," says a gentleman in black, with high forehead and hair brushed up intellectually: but, man, booklearning is not for the many, perhaps never will be. "Save," cries the economist: but the people don't save; and I do not see how they well can save out of less than enough. Indeed, I am not clear that the active spirit of producing goes very generally with the negative spirit of parsimony. It may in a few cases, but I do not notice the concurrence often, either in individuals or races.

These "remedies" are not what they so supereminently and presumptuously profess to be—they are not practical. Some are fanciful; some go against the grain of humanity; some appeal to the meaner passions of our nature; some imply shocking resorts. Not one is shown to be essentially necessary. All are odious; they are preached by those who find them easy or needless to those who are helpless.

The upshot is, that the working man sees the return of his labour, to himself, individually, growing less; his condition, if not in all respects more comfortless, is growing more fixed, more hopelessly fixed; he grows more and more familiar with hardship in the midst of luxury; and those who sit above, in ease and comfort, wise among their books, coddling themselves into comfortable virtues, to the toiler below, in hardship and privation, preach abstinence, energy, self-control! Luxury looks calmly down to penury, and preaches the doctrine of necessity.

The force of instinct tells the labourer that the doctrine of luxury is selfish and false; untutored labour feels the disbelief, but cannot set it forth learnedly; and so is content to sulk in suspended rebellion. Political faith is destroyed in the body of the people: they do not trust their rulers. Political infidelity has gone so far, that among the working classes very generally national feeling is destroyed. Driven off the land, bound to the soil only through his workhouse settlement, what does the labourer care for his "country"? Left to free trade and competition, told to "help himself," as no one else will, what does the working man care for the "nation" or for "order"? He is kept in order by the police and the standing army. The people is divorced from the land, in bondage to a thankless industry; the middle class is devoted to trade; the richer classes, more and more alienated from the people, remember them occasionally to preach political economy or dabble in charity. England heaps bale on bale of goods, million upon million of capital and funds; the rich grow richer, the poor are left more and more behind: class distrusts class; the People, all classes and their rulers, Nationality is dead.

All this needs not be so.

"Hold!" cries the practical political philosopher: "hush! do not talk in that style, or—for God's sake, hush!—you will raise the hopes of the People."

For God's sake it is, and the People's, that I do speak out.

All this is not necessary. If the People work and produce plenty, they should enjoy their full share of that plenty. "Raise the hopes of the People!"—why that is the very thing I would do. Yes; let the People know what is possible, and hope bravely, and, by God's blessing, we will win our way out of this bondage of industry.

Not ages hence: we might begin at once.

Nor need we wait, as some imagine, for "an altered state of society"; nor "go back, and begin de novo"; nor do any other wild and extravagant thing. The wild and extravagant thing is the persevering in the vain endeavour to conquer the instinctive disbelief of the People, when they are told that they must be as they are, that it is "their lot." They feel better.

And so do you, Erasmus. How, then, to begin. But I have already written enough for one reading.

Ever your friend and fellow workman,

THORNTON HUNT.

* Instances of deplorable suffering throughout a whole community are oftenest found in close parishes, where the work of cottage clearance is going on, or where a large population is suddenly concentrated, by the rapid growth of a manufacturing or mining interest, in the midst of what was formerly an agricultural district. The neighbourhoods of Axminster and Southleigh, in the first category, have supplied to the South-west Commissioner of the *Morning Chronicle* examples of peasant condition in Devon. His letter on this branch of enquiry is contained in the number of the 1st of January, in the present year. Too many of the cottages contain but two rooms. The walls are generally made of "cob,"—that is, mud and small stones mixed; the roof, of thatch. The floor of the lower apartment is sometimes composed simply of clay, and sometimes paved roughly and irregularly with stones. From this floor a ladder is commonly used in ascending to the upper room,—the sleeping place, very often, of an entire family. For such lodgment as this description of hut affords, 1s. per week is paid: a rent for which, in some places, the labourer has a comfortable home. A specific account is given of a cottage at Southleigh, in Devon. The floor of its lower apartment was paved with small stones, after the fashion of a rough and irregular pavement, with a gutter in the centre to carry off the water. The tenant of this cottage was rheumatic, and the place still very damp and cold from the rains which had then lately fallen. An adjoining house was much the same in point of accommodation; and its inmates also subject to rheumatism. The floor was simply of clay, and was partly under water after every heavy rain. In this case the wet was removed by soaking cloths in it, and wringing them dry out of doors. The unwholesomeness was further aggravated by a broad, open ditch at one side of the road.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY.

Oct. 1, 1850.

SIR,—In the last number of the *Leader* it is intimated that the surveillance over Kossuth is coming to an end, and that measures have already been taken to secure the refugees a passage to America or to England. I do not like that *or*: make it *and*, and I am content. If it cannot be *and*, blot America out of the sentence. Cannot something be done at once to secure the coming of Kossuth to England? Can we give him a requisition? Hospitality he will never lack here. The reception he would have would be the second lesson in English given to Austria, &c., the "Haynau hunt" being the first.

I am, Sir, yours right truly,
GEORGE DAWSON.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Oct. 3, 1850.

SIR,—The remarks you have so judiciously made on the neglect of the rulers of the Church of England to establish their hold upon the people, reminds me of observations on the subject by a talented writer a few years since, which may not, perhaps, be unworthy of a place in your Open Council.

Nothing (says he) has alienated the affections of the people from the existing Establishment so silently and irreparably as the pertinacity with which they have been denied a voice in the preferment of their ministers, and the sturdiness with which any representation on their part in behalf of a valued curate has been silenced or set at naught.

I will here mention a fact which fell under my own personal observation. It shows how the system worked, and of what bitter fruits it was productive.

A living became vacant on which a curate of the most blameless life and benevolent habits had been stationed for eleven years. It was a "peculiar," and formed part of the patronage of the dean of the diocese. A memorial was drawn up addressed to that dignity, and signed by all the principal landowners and landholders in the parish, praying that he would take the services of the curate into consideration in disposing of the vacant vicarage. It was deemed most respectful that a deputation should wait upon him, and three of the wealthiest and most respectable landed proprietors were fixed upon.

The dean was apprized of their intention, a day was named, and an interview granted. He contented himself with putting two questions. "Are these signatures genuine?" He was assured they were. "Is the wish this petition expresses the unanimous wish of the whole parish?" "Unquestionably so." "Then I must tell you that I consider this a most improper interference. It is an attempt to wrest from me my right of presentation, and I shall treat it accordingly. Mr. — has no chance of success." He bowed and retired.

What became of the parish? That parish in which, during the curate's ministry, not a dissenting chapel of any denomination was to be found, became a hotbed of Sectarianism. In a few years it was deluged with dissent. And if at this moment I wished to name a place more renowned than another for bitter feeling against the Church, a deep-rooted dislike to her institutions, and a thorough contempt for her clergy, I should point to that hamlet. Who is to blame for this? The patron, the people, or the pastor?

CHRYSOSTOM.

PRIZE ESSAY.

October 2, 1850.

SIR,—It has been my fate to be somewhat of an Antichrist, and a prize essay upon the verse quoted from the First Epistle of John would be purchased by the Editor. It is published. Enclosed is my mite towards a prize fund, and it is my hope that you will

succeed in selecting a thorough explanation of that verse. If it is not contrary to any fixed regulation, permit me to suggest the following arrangement respecting the mode of rendering the proposal conspicuous; it is that you will insert in your forthcoming paper these lines in italics between the phrase "Open Council" and the formidable crest of the Winged Lion:—

A PROPOSED PRIZE ESSAY.

We have been requested by a correspondent to publish on the last day of this year an Essay in elucidation of the 18th verse from the 2nd Chapter of the First Epistle General of John; and we beg to announce that all competitive Essays can be sent to our office, addressed to the "Editor of the Leader," on or before the 1st of December, with the names of the writers in separate envelopes, and the Prize will be awarded to the author of the Essay which is selected by competent judges as possessing most merit.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
ANOTHER CONSTANT READER.

ROBERT OWEN'S FIRST PRINCIPLE.

Rosehill, near Coventry, Sept. 24, 1850.

SIR,—We must all agree with the Reverend Charles Kingsley, in his letter of last week, that the subject of the formation of character is very important—too important to be special-pleaded. The enunciation of the dogma that "a man's character is formed for him, and not by him," is an ambiguous mode of expression, and is, as I see by the frequent controversy on the subject, calculated to deceive. It would be better to say that a man's character is formed by his constitution, organization, or nature, and by the circumstances in which he is placed. The question is argued from opposite sides of the same shield, one person saying that it is himself—that is, his own organization or nature—that forms his character; another, that it is external circumstances. Now, the nature cannot strictly be said to be the character, and a child at birth cannot be said to have any character; it has only certain internal forces, tendencies, or dispositions, the action of which upon the world without—that is, upon circumstances, and the reaction of circumstances upon such forces, form the character. The character is the result of the joint action. The question corresponds to that of *objection and subjection*, and is argued in precisely the same way; one party affirming that the world is formed within, as by the action of our own innate faculties; the other, that the world actually exists, as we conceive of it, without us: whereas, our idea of the world results from the joint action of our own definite innate faculties and external forces. All things are maintained by action and reaction; in the physical world "action and reaction are equal and contrary" and a similar law pervades the mental and moral world.

In the formation of character there are two forces to take into consideration—the internal and external. Sometimes the internal is weak, and then a man is said to be the creature of circumstances; sometimes it is strong, and then, as in Luther, Mahomet, Bacon, Newton, and the other instances mentioned by Mr. Kingsley, he is said to form his own character. Mr. Owen, both in speech and writing, has, doubtless, attributed too much influence to external circumstances—that is, as considered in their operation upon one, two, or even three generations, and his opponents have, doubtless, erred on the opposite side; nevertheless, our object should certainly be to increase the internal forces, so as to make a man what is called independent of circumstances, or at least to give him the power to control them.

And now, a few words with reference to the *free will* part of the question; for I agree with Mr. Kingsley that "it is not a question for philosophers to palaver over, but a practical (truth or) falsehood fraught with the most important and immediate social results." All our power over the physical world has resulted from the application of the inductive philosophy, of which Bacon was the ablest and principal exponent. Now, if we would acquire the same influence over the formation of character as we have over external nature, it can only be by the introduction of the same inductive method; a thing manifestly impossible if man have any real freedom of will, or, what is the same thing, if he have the power of acting contrary to known and determinate laws. I look, therefore, upon the doctrine of philosophical necessity as of the highest possible importance, for I believe that, when it is properly understood and acted upon, it will be found to bear the same relation to mind as the principle of induction does to matter. This is what I understand Robert Owen to mean when he says that "a man's character is formed for him and not by him;" and when he insists so strenuously upon the importance of that dogma, he means that we are no longer to act upon the supposition that a man can be what he pleases; but that we must study and obey the laws of mind as of matter, so as to increase the internal force of character to enable us either to conquer circumstances or to make us superior to them, and so to adjust one to the other as to produce the utmost amount of happiness possible.

All reasoning is based upon a calculation of consequences; and how can we calculate consequences in the most important department of mind, unless the laws of mind be fixed, if a man has the power to be moved or not by causes which in all similar circumstances have always been sufficient to move him, that is, if he has any freedom of will in the case?

To help to illustrate this subject, let us go back to Mr. Kingsley. He says, "Those who choose may hold that the egg-shell causes the chicken inside, that the organs of a man's brain and nerves cause his character." The shell here, if we please, may represent external circumstances, but it is the internal vital force that develops the chicken. Here are two eggs, in appearance very much alike, but one comes out a chicken, the other a duck, and no force of external circumstances or of will on the part of the chicken could make it a duck, or the duck a chicken. Their nature is fixed and determinate, and we have to study the laws of duck nature and of chicken nature in rearing them.

So of two men that are born, in appearance they may differ no more than the eggs, and yet one shall develop into a Bacon or Newton, a Shakespeare or Milton, the other shall continue a most ordinary mortal, and no force of external circumstance or will shall much narrow the difference. Mr. Kingsley writes as if it were in the power of will to overcome these differences; but we may safely predicate that circumstances would prove too strong for them—the difference in their nature, in the temper of their internal spring or force, is a circumstance which they could no more control than anything external. We may never succeed in making ducks into chickens, but the difference between men are dependent, thank Heaven, upon nothing so capricious as free-will, but upon laws which, if we study, in the course of ages may be used to produce such characters as may be thought most desirable. Mr. Kingsley does not appear to me to be quite consistent throughout. He says, "We must be delivered from evil—inward evil—from inward selfishness, pride, laziness, meanness, ferocity. Can mere outward circumstances do that?" "We," he says, "know something stronger than these sins, and Mr. Owen does not." Surely, this *something stronger* must be a circumstance. May we not correctly call a cause of whatever kind a circumstance? "Why," he says, "are we not at this moment grubbing up pig-nuts in a state of primeval breechlessness? For these were the circumstances of our forefathers, which God taught them to conquer, as he will teach us to conquer ours, and he what he intends us to be, &c." Surely, God's teaching is an external circumstance, just as much as Robert Owen's would be. Again, once more and lastly, he says, "We are taught that a man has a will and spirit." Granted. What then? This will and spirit has a definite nature of its own, and acts in accordance with the laws of that nature; and we are not the less bound to study those laws, whether that will and spirit depend upon organization or is independent of it. We hear much of organization of industry and of the benefits of association, and whether we can avail ourselves of them must depend upon "the formation of character;" and yet the best friends of Association are here at variance upon the very first principle. Little is said or known about the nature of man, upon which all other knowledge must be based; and Mr. Kingsley is doubtful even if the mind acts through the organs of the brain and nervous system. The laws of the material world we admit to be fixed, and all the comforts, conveniences, and ornaments of life have been produced by acting in accordance with them. If we act in contravention of these laws, failure is known to be inevitable. The laws of the moral world are not less fixed than those that govern the material world, and if sought after and adapted to the wants of society, the results will be equally good; if disobeyed, or if we act in opposition, equally disastrous. I shall resume this subject, if you will allow me, another week.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,
CHARLES BRAY.

REPLY TO MR. BARTON AND MR. NEALE.

London, Sept. 30, 1850.

SIR,—Will you admit me again into your Open Council to reply as briefly as possible to Mr. Barton and Mr. Edward Vansittart Neale?

Mr. Barton is entirely mistaken in imagining that the necessity for human agency as an essential circumstance in the arrangements for well forming the human character is overlooked in the rational system.

But, Mr. Barton says, "How are sane individuals to be obtained where all are insane?" Simply by removing the insanity which an irrational fundamental idea has produced, by the influence of a rational fundamental idea. Surely, Mr. Barton can understand how a man who has been made to reason falsely by the reception of a fundamental error, will be enabled to reason correctly when that error is superseded by a fundamental truth.

Mr. Barton says, "The offspring of badly-organized individuals cannot be made wise and good." What has been done by education for the children of such persons even with very imperfect means is a practical

demonstration to the contrary, and is an earnest of what will be done when good circumstances only—(true principles, beneficial institutions and arrangements, and truly enlightened and good teachers)—shall be made to operate upon such persons from their birth.

Mr. Barton says that, if persons can be made rational in the midst of irrational circumstances, the doctrine of the overwhelming influence of circumstances is thereby disproved. He overlooks the existence of other circumstances also, by which the rationalizing effect is produced—of facts, against which, when they are comprehended, error is powerless; and of persons by whom those facts are pointed out.

Mr. Barton asks why, if this is the case, mankind may not be regenerated without changing the constitution of society? Because the regeneration in mind will necessarily lead to a corresponding regeneration in practice. One who has been made conscious of the errors and vices of the present state of society, and, through that consciousness, desirous for their removal, cannot be content that such a combination of practical falsehood, injustice, and wickedness should be maintained. We cannot have all the results without all the means.

Mr. Barton believes that "character depends chiefly, if not entirely, upon organization or innate qualities, and cannot be materially altered by any education or external influences." Such a belief betrays an unconsciousness of most notorious facts.

Mr. Barton thinks that the fact that the rational system has never yet existed is "decidedly against" its truth. The same argument would have proved railways and a thousand other modern improvements impracticable before they were introduced.

I will now reply as briefly as possible to Mr. Neale.

The idea that we possess the power to exert or suspend our will at pleasure, the antecedents remaining the same, is a fallacy arising from an imperfect perception of the process of the formation of the will or decision to act. Whenever the will is changed, the change of will is preceded by some change of the antecedents.

If we examine the process of the formation of our will, and ask ourselves *what made us will as we did* will on any given occasion, we find it was the strongest feeling of the time which did so. If we examine what it was which made us will differently at another time, we find the cause to have been that at that other time another feeling was the strongest. Always the strongest feeling of the time—physical, intellectual, or moral.

But it is thought that we have the power to make this or that feeling the strongest at will.

If we carefully examine, however, we find that the strength of each feeling, on every occasion, is as much caused by certain antecedents, as the will was by its antecedent strongest feeling.

The immediate antecedents of our feelings are—our character at the time, our physical and mental condition at the time, and the external circumstances of the time. And, if we carefully observe, we shall find that every change of feeling is preceded by a change of one or more of these antecedents:—our character changing from time to time, in a greater or less degree, through new experience, for instance; our physical and mental condition varying as we are hungry or satiated, fatigued or the reverse, in good health or ill, &c.; and our external circumstances being altered in endless ways—changes which in their turn may be traced to antecedent causes.

The will, therefore, is the result of a chain of causation, and not a spontaneous production.

Facts demonstrative of the truth of these statements will be cognizable to all who have acquired the power of mental self-examination, if they will call to mind their own experience, and analyze it.

HENRY TRAVIS.

FREE WILL AND NECESSITY.

Lincoln's Inn, Sept. 29, 1850.

SIR,—I should not have troubled you with any reply to F. G.'s remarks on my observations as to Mr. R. Owen's fundamental principle, were it not that I wish to vindicate myself from the imputation of being "prodigiously" alarmed at "being told that I have no free will." If the correctness of F. G.'s conception of the nature of my feelings is to be taken as a test of his insight into the nature of the human will, assuredly little reliance can be placed on his judgment. With regard to the question itself, F. G. seems to consider it a sufficient answer to my remarks to refer me to the opinions of Jonathan Edwards and Dr. Chalmers. I have much respect for both of those ingenious writers and good men, though I apprehend that the student of metaphysics would commonly bow to the authority of Spinoza with more deference than to that of either Edwards or Chalmers, in whose minds the conclusions of metaphysical speculation were subordinate to the dogmas of Calvinistic Theology. But, if the question of the Freedom of the Human Will is to be decided by authority, it can hardly be decided in F. G.'s favour. Not to refer to earlier schools of philosophy, I need only allude to the succession of profound thinkers who, from Kant to Hegel, have so recently and so

fully explored every branch of metaphysical enquiry, to prove that the conclusions of Edwards or Chalmers are not to be taken as exponents of the opinions generally admitted by those whose opinions are entitled to the greatest consideration on such questions as that of the Freedom of the Will.

I have no wish to prolong a discussion which, as F. G. justly observes, would be likely to be interminable, within any limits that you could be reasonably asked to assign to it; and most cordially do I concur in the hope expressed by him that all who are interested in the great cause of substituting co-operation for competition, as the ruling principle by which the ordinary relations of life shall be regulated, may "work together hand in hand," notwithstanding any metaphysical points of difference between them. But, the very circumstance that we can both cherish this hope is, surely, of itself a proof that social reform requires and admits of some firmer and broader foundation than the disputed metaphysical proposition on which Mr. Owen has thought fit to rest his system.—I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

EDWARD VANSITTART NEALE.

P.S.—I observe that in the twenty-seventh line of my former letter, the word "passage" has been substituted for "principle," which makes nonsense of the sentence.

ROBERT OWEN'S FIRST PRINCIPLE.

Oct. 1, 1850.

SIR,—F. G., in common with many, perhaps all, Socialists, appears to overlook the real fact of a man being himself. F. G. writes, "If, in no single instance, we can positively affirm that a man's conduct was not determined, compelled by circumstances beyond his control, such as education, physical organization, &c." If a man's "physical organization" is one or many circumstances influencing his character, is it not equivalent to saying that he has the power of influencing himself? And this I take to be true. We are all free within the limit of possibilities.

O. S.

LETTERS ON UNITARIANISM.

LETTER I.

October 1, 1850.

SIR,—For nearly twenty years I have been interested in, or connected with, the Unitarian sect. But as I have never been satisfied with that connection, and as I see many religious and social wants which Unitarianism, unless it greatly transform itself, is inadequate to satisfy, I have thought that, perhaps, you would kindly give me space for a few miscellaneous observations on a theological system which so far has been more ambitious than successful.

Permit me to say that I write in no unfriendly spirit. Some of those whom I have known the longest and love the dearest are Unitarians. I have derived much intellectual suggestion, much spiritual profit from Unitarian influences. Though Unitarianism is not itself a high thing, yet it has been my pioneer to the highest. I should be flagrantly ungrateful, therefore, if I spoke of it either with contempt or hatred. Nor can I be blind to the services which it has rendered to the community. There have been dark hours in the history of our native land when it shrank neither from peril nor from pain in the assertion of the Right and the True. While aware also of its essential shallowness as a religious faith, I think that it has helped, along with other agencies, to make a religious faith of a deeper kind possible. The earnest minds who are at present striving to lead men toward that deeper faith forget how effective Unitarianism has been as a herald of the great religious reformation for which the world is panting, though totally unfit to take any part in the achievements thereof. And yet, in speaking thus, I may have said something harsher than the harshest enemy of Unitarianism would venture to say regarding it. For what can wound the vanity of a sect more than to tell it that it *has* had a vocation and a history, but that in the Present and in the Future there is no room, no work for it?

I was brought up among Calvinistic Dissenters, and though there are portions of my nature still scarred and distorted by the fiery baptism which Calvinism gives to its children, yet I do not regret that my young soul was crushed down for a season by that horrible devil-worship. The mystery of the universe might have come to me more gladly, but it could never have come to me so grandly unless I had shuddered in my boyhood at the ghastly shapes and grim terrors of Calvin's hell. Yet a bosom thirsting for the beautiful and the holy cannot dwell long in that region of dread and damnation. Nature, the divine, is stronger than creeds, the human. The stars, the flowers, the waves, the everlasting mountains, taught me that the chains which bound me were lies gendered by the mad or the malignant brain of priests, and that the monsters before which I trembled were all of their invention. It was a year or two after I made this discovery that I formed my acquaintance with Unitarianism. Previously to this, however, I had traversed the darkest regions of doubt and denial, and hovered on the verge of Atheism. To a mind that had been grievously tormented by all which orthodoxy has that is most

cruel, and by all which scepticism has that is coldest and most despairing, there was for a time an irresistible charm in the pictures Unitarianism delights to draw of the unspoil'd glory of the universe and the unstinted benevolence of God. To that charm I gladly surrendered myself, and conceived that there could be nothing nobler than battling even unto the death for doctrines so noble. But I was quickly disenchanted. I saw that Unitarianism flattered so ardently God and the universe only that it might have an excuse for flattering itself. The universe is the best of all possible universes; God is the best of all possible gods; and we are the wisest of men for entertaining so sublime a belief; that I found to be Unitarian logic. Here, then, was at once unveiled to me the root of all that is wrong and odious in Unitarianism, its monstrous arrogance, its inordinate intellectual pride. This was only a degree less offensive to me than the spiritual pride of the orthodox had been. Between thinking that you alone are the Deity's favourite, and persuading yourself that you alone make a favourite of Deity, the practical difference is exceedingly small. The Unitarians do not consider themselves better than their neighbours, nor more religious; indeed, some of them would be rather annoyed if you thought them very religious; but they are the pharisees of intellect, and are less inclined to pity other sects for believing what is pernicious than to despise them for believing what is absurd. Now, intellectual pride is the most fatal form of self-worship. Spiritual pride requires an enormous effort to sustain itself. And ever and anon moments of anguish and of exhaustion come when the creature falls down prostrate and overwhelmingly humbled at the footstool of the Creator, the thick wrappage of hypocrisy is torn asunder, and the remotest retreat of the startled conscience is awed and rebuked by the majesty of God. The pride of virtue, also, how often do irresistible passions, inevitable backslidings, and weaknesses dash in pieces the tower of strength in which it exults! But the pride of knowledge, how seldom can that be reached by the accidents of fate, how seldom can that be taught by the lessons of Providence! The food on which it feeds is itself, and the more greedily it devours the more abundant does it find the nourishment to be. Besides, spiritual pride and the pride of virtue can belong to none but individuals; it is only intellectual pride with which you can infect a whole mass of men. It would be but a commonplace to admit that the humble, no less than the holy, may be found among the Unitarians. It is still true that the leprosy, deforming and destroying whatever is excellent in Unitarianism, is pride of understanding. The results of that pride are not far to seek. The self-idolatry of intellectual pride leads by the directest path to self-isolation. Few are recognized to be equals, and all the rest of men are considered to be deserving neither of regard nor of sympathy. How can a sect in which that spirit prevails have missionary impulse, missionary action, and missionary success? Moreover, intellectual pride wounds more keenly than any other kind of pride the sensitive vanity of others. It is therefore more from hatred of their pride than from dislike to their tenets that the majority of the orthodox are so unwilling to lend an ear to the teachings of the Unitarians. He that is possessed by the demon of intellectual pride also tries to keep all his faculties in subjection to what is frigidly and formally rational. And, unmoved himself, how is he likely to move others? How are the hearts of those whom you address to be touched, their imaginations to be kindled, their enthusiasm to be roused, when you yourself are as passionless as a triangle? Yet is not religion eminently a thing of the heart, of the imagination? a thing having its breath and being in the loftiest enthusiasm? Intellectual pride, likewise, is as disposed to underrate the obstacles to progress, as to avoid all trouble and risk by which those obstacles might be overcome. It is lazy and cowardly. It is amusing to hear the Unitarians speaking of the grand revelations that are about to burst on the world while not stirring an inch from the comforts of their armchair and their Sunday newspaper. They are continually prophesying the downfall of superstition, the coming of the Lord, and the reign of universal brotherhood, yet taking care not to move their feet from the fender. All this when I joined the Unitarian sect in the first fervour of my youth filled me with a disgust and a wrath which I was not slow to express; it now fills me with sorrow. For, in the warfare with tyranny, fanaticism, and every social and political abomination in these days, the spectacle of misdirection or inaction in any force ostensibly allied to the good cause is as grievous as to behold the triumph of the enemy.

ATTICUS.

CRACKED BEFORE.—Mrs. Brougham, mother of the ex-Chancellor, says an Edinburgh friend, was a most excellent and thrifty housewife. On one occasion she was much troubled with a servant addicted to dish-breaking, and who used to allege, in extenuation of her fault, "It was crackit before." One morning little Harry tumbled down stairs, when the fond mother, running after him, exclaimed, "Oh, boy, have you broke your head?" "No, ma," said the future Chancellor, "it was crackit before."—*Glasgow Daily Mail*.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

THE dullest weeks may now be said to have passed, and the approaching season casts a few of its "shadows before." The advertisement columns are still meagre, but Guide Books and Sporting Books do not "possess them merely." Meanwhile notes of preparation announce that the season, when it fairly sets in, will be brisk: publishers are keeping back several works in order to make a display when the campaign opens. Among the "interesting novelties in preparation," as the play-bills say, let us mention a collection of *Hungarian Tales and Legends*, by THERESA PULSZKY, a collection gathered some years ago, by her husband, from the living source of national folklore, and now edited and made English by her delicate and dexterous pen.

This is Magazine week, and has, therefore, extra variety. CHRISTOPHER NORTH is again "under canvas" in *Blackwood*, discoursing on the poetic disposition; the NEW YORKER continues his graphic sketches of American society in *Fraser*, and he is the better worth hearing from the peculiarities of his position as a born American educated at an English university, which gives him a more commanding view of American society in itself, and of its relation to English society. Let us also direct attention to an article in this magazine upon *Public Nurseries*, detailing one of the most excellent of modern philanthropic schemes. The *Quarterly* and *Westminster Reviews* have also appeared; the former containing an article by Mr. FORD on *Tieknor's Spanish Literature*, and one by Mr. WARD on the *Water Question*; both of more than usual interest from the authority of the writers. The *Westminster* generally contrives to have one good paper to buoy it up; this time it is an elaborate investigation of the Sabbath as held by various nations, and one which would completely crush the Sabbatarians, if fact or reason could touch bigotry. We shall quote some passages in our *Notes and Extracts*. Referring, in one place, to the texts which display eating and rejoicing as elements of the ancient Sabbath, the writer, in a moment of forgetfulness, says:—"Many persons will be slow to believe that holiness was ever connected with eating and drinking, and making merry." How! in good, pious England, where the *Sunday dinner* is a thing sacred, a solemn sacrificial Institution, as punctual in its rituals as morning Church, where (at least among the middle classes, who monopolize piety and stuff) the great event of the day is the fillet of veal with its multitudinous et ceteras, the ample indigestion of a twohour meal, followed by a dessert that lingers on till ten, ten o'clock prayers, and an early bed—is it in England that eating can be thought a strange associate with holiness? We appeal to the experience of every reader; we appeal to the remembrances of stupefied faculties on those listless, weary days when the newspaper, an occasional visit, and a profusion of dinner were the only permitted outlets for enjoyment. We often, in recalling Sunday experiences, think of this reply of a "naughty" child. Her marza told her that if she were good she would go to Heaven; and on wishing for a more explicit statement of what heavenly life would be, was told how "every day would there be Sunday"; whereupon this naïve remark issued from some corner of her heart from which "original sin" had not been washed, "Lor! how dull it will be!" Very shocking, was it not? Yet, friends, if you will make Sunday hateful in the hope of making men pious,—if you will forget that God is Love, and has created a world of Beauty and of Gladness,—if you will substitute the scowl of puritanism for the natural piety of every unpurged soul—such will be the thought of children and of men!

France is at present occupied with the first results of the new press law, obliging writers to affix their signatures, a law which, as JOHN LEMOINE, in the *Débats*, justly says, is a law against the press. We shall see how it will work. The inconveniences are manifold, as every one intimate with the structure of a newspaper must feel; while the advantages, such as they are, lie mostly on the side of the journalist, against the journal. So keenly does the *Times* feel this that it writes in a passion at the bare mention of such a thing. Imagine the effect of such a law upon the

Times! It is, to use the definition given of it by one of its most distinguished writers, "a gigantic power wielded by pigmies": the effect of each article arises not so much from the intrinsic merit of the writing as from the accumulated reputation of the journal. If its articles were signed, several writers would be celebrated—for there is no disputing their ability—but the prestige of the *Times* would be amazingly lessened; and if some contributions would bring reputation to men now little known, there can be no doubt that many of its articles would bring infamy upon the writers—if they dared be written! One thing seems to have been overlooked by those most desirous of seeing their names in print, viz., that, even allowing them to be admirable writers, the public would soon become excessively weary at the iteration of their names. Moreover, the opinions expressed by a journal are very often not so much the opinions of the individual writer as the *consensus* of several persons; in this case any one signature would be out of place; but where the opinions are those of the writer, if the publication of his name can add interest or authority, then it may well be given. Our own opinion, after a long consideration of the matter, is that, for the interests of journalism, journalists, and the public, the anonymous should be the general rule, but that in all exceptional cases, where personal responsibility gives dignity, sincerity, and authority to an article, the signature should be affixed. In other words, that names should be used sparingly, and for other purposes than those of an ambitious publicity.

On our table lies a new novel by ALEXANDRE DUMAS, and in only two volumes! Should this *Tulipe Noire* prove worthy of his name, you shall hear more of it in a week or so; but we are always suspicious of this dauntless charlatan, who manufactures novels, histories, voyages, plays, with a fecundity that sets all previous writers at defiance, and with an impudence so colossal, that it amounts to genius. Only last week he had the audacity to produce at his own theatre what purported to be a new play; it turned out to be a comedy which four years ago he gave to the Théâtre Français, having previously taken it from one of his own novels. Thus he writes *Le Chevalier D'Harmental*; a comedy is wanted, and by a little scenic arrangement the *Chevalier* is thrown into five acts of *La Fille du Régent*; the success is mediocre, but now, being in want of a play for the Théâtre Historique, he adds two acts to *La Fille du Régent*, christens it *Le Capitaine Lajongquière*, and *Cric, crac! Voilà le Drame!* ALEXANDRE must be a staunch upholder of that physiological theory named the transmutation of species; give him an anecdote and he makes ten volumes of it; if it succeed, another ten volumes of continuation are ready; if these exhaust it in the feuilleton, there is the stage, and his feuilleton can be cut into pieces of one hour, two hours, three hours, four hours, five hours—two nights' length, if need be! Meanwhile he sups with "my friends the princes," assists as second in duels, scours Europe, and astonishes Morocco: his whole life is a feuilleton!

Side by side with *La Tulipe Noire* is a small volume by Lamartine, *Nouvelles Confidences*. The rapidity with which new volumes appear of romance, poetry, politics, and autobiography, all signed with this name, once so chary of itself, leads one to suspect an immense need of money, or a feverish desire to keep before the public; perhaps both causes are at work; at any rate the sign is not hopeful.

SIDNEY SMITH'S MOTHER COUNTRY.

The Mother Country; or, the Spade, the Waste, and the Eldest Son. An Examination of the Condition of England. By Sidney Smith. John Kendrick.

THIS is an outspoken, vigorous, thoroughly radical book, by one who has spared no pains to acquaint himself with the true state of affairs, and contains a mass of statistical facts marshalled in effective array in support of its conclusions. Compressed into a small compass here are the results of considerable research; and the whole book is written with a trenchant power well adapted to its object.

On the subject of home colonization he pertinently remarks that, before sending out vast bodies of men to foreign countries, it would be well if we reclaimed the land of England. There are fifteen millions of acres at present lying waste, yet capable of improvement. It is idly said that waste lands would not pay for their cultivation; but the best agricultural authorities—and the authority of extensive fact—emphatically deny this; besides, during the first thirty-five years of this century, three millions five

hundred thousand acres of waste have been reclaimed and found to pay—why not extend this operation? Why not set our paupers to work, and carry out on a large scale the Sheffield experiment, recorded in last week's *Leader*?

"The reports of the various parishes in which the allotment system has been adopted establish the fact that land is rendered far more valuable and profitable in the hands of a labourer who cultivates it himself than in those of a farmer who has to pay wages for everything he does, and is robbed by eye-servants. A man works at the door of his own cottage, on his own holding, to far greater profit than when he toils for another, trudging miles to and from his work. He labours early and late. The industry of his family is no longer lost to the community. The youngest picks up weeds, fetches, and carries. The wife with the infant in her arms can even do something. All are made active and busy. A hundred peasants on 1000 acres (ten to each) mean 100 litters of pigs, 100 or 200 milch cows, with butter, cheese, milk, veal, manure. (Mr. Blacker shows that a cow soiled may be well maintained on three quarters of an acre.) They involve 100 broods of chickens, with no end of eggs (our chief supplies of eggs and poultry are from Ireland and France.) They imply that not one blade of road or hedge-side grass, not one square inch of soil, not one withered leaf, will be lost. They mean 100 gardens with potatoes and vegetables, yielding each a surplus for market. They signify a smaller chance of a lost crop in any season, for, in addition to a soil better trenched and pulverized by the spade, and better manured, there are hands on the spot to substitute a new crop for that which has not succeeded. They involve no risk or loss of capital, because no wages are paid. No establishment of horses and implements has to be kept up, and although, for the time, there may be little surplus to sell, the holder can make shift to live by his cow and eggs, and his garden, and wait for better seasons. Look at the proof. The Dutch bear as high a rent, and are as heavily taxed as we are. Their climate is far worse than ours, because hard frosts compel them to maintain their cattle for four months of every year on winter food; yet on their small farms they raise butter and cheese, pay a duty at our Custom-house of 20s. and 10s. per cwt. respectively, and undersell our farmers in our own market! Look at the Swiss with their little farms—how independent, how comfortable, how intelligent, how moral!"

The facts brought forward by Sidney Smith in support of the allotment system and spade husbandry are overwhelming, and should be read in conjunction with Mr. Kay's admirable chapters on the same subject:—

"The parish of Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, was entirely occupied by two large farmers. Fertile, populous, within forty miles of the metropolis, its cultivators, notwithstanding, fell behind. There were 139 inhabitants in the parish, but only two had an inch of the soil. Was not this civilization run mad? Was it not a glaring and staring evidence of the monstrous abuse of the principle of private property that only one man out of sixty-nine tillers of the ground should have exclusive occupation of the earth which God made common to all, and the appropriation of which can only be palliated upon the clearest proof of public advantage? What was the consequence of this *beau idéal* of politico-economical arrangement? Simply this—out of the 139 inhabitants 119 were paupers. The land monopolists became bankrupt, the parson got no tithes, the landlord's acres were in rapid course of being eaten up with rates, and the whole property of the parish being unable to feed the inhabitants, a rate in aid had to be levied on the neighbouring parishes, which were rapidly degenerating into the same state. The Labourer's Friend Society came to the rescue. They leased the land at a fair rent. They parcelled it out among the very worst class of persons upon whose habits to hazard the result of such an experiment. Some got five, some ten acres, according to the size of their families; and what was the effect? At the end of four years the number of paupers had diminished from 119 to 5, and these were persons disabled from old age or disease—these paupers afforded to pay a rate in aid to the neighbouring parishes—and it was found that every one of them was in a state of independence and comfort, each had a cow, many two or three, to which some added a horse, others some oxen, ready for the market, and all had pigs and poultry in abundance."

And now hearken to this:—

"If the anti-agrarian economists can show us where or how our teeming population can be more profitably employed than in subduing the wilderness, and making the desert and solitary places glad, let them. We have three millions and a half of unwilling idlers among us. Trade cannot employ them—manufacturers will not—commerce is overdone. There are 465,000 new candidates for work, wages, and food pressing upon us every year. Eight millions worth of hard-earned rates are squandered upon the local unprofitable poor. £784,178 of annual charity have to be added to this sum, besides, probably, not less than at least £1,500,000 more in eleemosynary almsgiving. All this is not enough. At one fell swoop, what with Queen's letters, Irish and Scotch funds, contributions from every part of the world, from the Grand Turk to the Autocrat of Russia, from the Pacha of Egypt to the Hudson's Bay Company, from the India to the Fois, to the amount of £603,535 8s. 2d. have been voluntarily subscribed, and the state has advanced £8,000,000, all to feed those whom we had not found out the way of helping to feed themselves. 'In the month of July (1848),' observes the Report of the British Relief Association, 'upwards of 3,000,000 of persons were daily supplied with food from the charitable fund.' Nearly £19,000,000 of money given away to

paupers for no return, for worse than no return—for debasement, dependence, the bread of idleness, the abject and self-degraded consciousness of importunate beggary, and 15,000,000 acres of improvable soil left without a single spade in it!"

Elsewhere he says:—

"Is there no substance of self-help in our peasantry? Let us see; the unions cannot find paupers in food, fuel, and clothing, upon less than 2s. 10d. per week, or 14s. 2d. for a family of five. Yet hundreds of these maintain themselves on 8s. a-week, and pay house-rent (1s. 6d. or 2s. a-week) into the bargain. Hundreds more bring up families of six, eight, and ten children without ever applying for assistance out of the rates. The heroism and virtue of these men is not surpassed in classic times, or in the age of heroes."

He then turns aside to consider the state of the nation in a chapter which Mr. Crowdy will consider as altogether wanting in *feelosophy*, but which thinking men not of the Mr. Crowdy school will be apt to ponder on, despite its "shocking radicalism":—

"Yes," he exclaims, "we are civilized—the spindles whirl over Europe—and steam clouds the entire old world sky. All can boast their statistical prosperity—their progress in Board of Trade returns—their millions of figures in tonnage, revenue, and exports. Look but at figures—believe Custom-house clerks—take up but reports of trade and navigation, and the world seems to have shot past the millennium, and got to the meridian of the day of Pentecost, or caught the Greek kalends by the tail. Sugar, tea, tobacco, ships, bales, hogheads, wines, silks, wools, cottons, oils, surplus capital, and railway shares, prove, if not a golden age, yet quite an age of gold. Alas! for statistics and logical political economy. Mankind are running away from all this, and hiding themselves in the woods. Two millions of emigrants from this *el dorado* have left Britain for the New World prairies, or to take up the Australian crook. Two millions of Germans have followed their example—and just as the wealth of the world is flowing in upon us the tide of human beings is flowing out. This same civilization of ours has 'fall'n on evil days and evil tongues.' Riots, rebellions, barricades, revolutions, are its interpreters. A universal upheaving of the mass, a fearful groundswell, founders every state ship, and sends it down head foremost to the depths, a total wreck. The masses do this, tea, and sugar, and cotton shirts at a penny a yard, notwithstanding. Louis Blanc and Fourier are stronger than the steam engine yet. Communism and universal brotherhood are the gospel of the million, to the utter confounding of the best series of statistics, and a whole Sanhedrim of Prosperity Robinsons. Somehow we are highly prosperous, but very few manage to get their share. We are in the best abstract circumstances, but by some very perverse mischance we happen to be in the very worst concrete condition. In short, there are very loud complaints among the rabble that they are not allowed to go snacks."

Again:—

"We obviously make money. Where does it go to? Wealth beyond the desires of human avarice has been produced and flowed in upon us in this model year 1849. What has become of it? The report of the British Relief Association informs us that three millions of these workers in Ireland were fed on charity, by rations served out to them by the Government. The Poor Law returns exhibit an aggregate, in addition to those of 3,561,600 workhouse paupers relieved at an expense of eight millions sterling. The new Poor Law, while it has failed to check pauperism, has, at least, served to prove that beggary is not a sham, but that, workhouse test notwithstanding, while the cost of pauper maintenance has been reduced by open ports, the aggregate amount of rates has in eleven years increased thirty-three per cent., a ratio even greater than our increase of apparent wealth. In 1837 the poor rates of England and Wales amounted to £4,300,000. In 1848 to £6,180,000. In 1849 the numbers relieved are 100,000 more than in 1848, an advance of six per cent. within the year. In 1848 the rates were £881,978 (or seventeen per cent.) more than in 1840. Misery, literally, seems to advance in the very ratio of our wealth—the more we get the fewer get it—as the aggregate swells the proportion diminishes—and the greater our riches the lesser is the share of each. Nor is this the only test of our condition. The most precise returns, diffused over a long series of years, place the criminal calendar in juxtaposition with the average price of the quarter of wheat. From these returns it is demonstrable that the great exciting cause of crime is poverty—because, just as the price of bread rises offences increase, and as food becomes accessible the number of convictions diminish. Taking crime, then, as the test of the condition of the masses, we learn from Sheriff Alison that over the whole kingdom crime increases four times as fast as the population, and that in Lancashire population doubles in thirty years: crime in five years and a half. And all this while the sums spent in railway wages have added probably fifty per cent. to the whole payment of labour throughout the kingdom. The convictions in England and Wales alone, in 1839, were 17,832, in 1847 they had increased to 21,582, and 174 per cent. above those of even 1846. In Ireland the convictions alone, in 1847, amounted to 15,257, and the trials to 31,209. The number of Irish poor relieved in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow alone, in 1847, was 160,000. With all our enormous increase of apparent wealth also, insolvency and bankruptcy progress even faster. The Metropolitan Bankruptcy Committee have proved by good evidence that the amount of bad debts made in England and Scotland is quite £50,000,000 a-year. Where, then, does the money go to—what good does it effect—what evil does it avert?"

On this much-debated question of our progress it

is, as he says, of no use to prove progress in material wealth if we also establish an increase of real misery to a greater extent; and he sums up with this fact: that in proportion to our numbers there are too many dependent upon wages, and too few their own masters. Rank Socialism! Yet Sidney Smith warns us not to mistake him for a Socialist. "The gospel according to Fourier," he says, "is that of a fool, and the followers of Blanc are blockheads;" hard words, my masters! and elsewhere he says that "Red Republican Communism has hitherto developed itself simply in the line of seizing other men's goods and cutting rich men's throats. A somewhat unfraternal brotherhood." Sidney Smith ought to have been taught by journalistic experience that this calling of names and misrepresentation of doctrines is as mischievous as it is ungenerous: what has he thought of his political opponents who have used such language towards him? We are at one with him when he says that people begin at the wrong end of Communism, taking hold of the tail of mere material arrangement before securing the head of moral adaptation. Indeed he is much nearer Communism than his vituperative bursts would lead some people to imagine:—

"It is, indeed, demonstrable economically—nay, it has been partially practically proved, that by a wiser application of the resources of society, by a better distribution of its productions, by a more enlightened arrangement of appliances, and a more intelligent spirit of co-operation and mutual help, crowned by philanthropy, virtue, and religion, the poorest may command the highest enjoyments of the richest, and the richest will lose not one of the advantages which he at present can command, sauced with perfect security for the continuance of his happiness, and with the precious condition of neighbourly good-will. Who does not see that one grocer or draper might distribute the wares needed by 1000 people as easily as five to two hundred, setting the other four at liberty for other pursuits, in place of cutting one another down and out? Who doubts that Jenny Lind might warble to 10,000 eager listeners at 6s. as sweetly as to 1000 at a guinea—or that, if she could command all the elegant appliances which now reward her genius without the guinea, she would witch the world for the love of her art, and the elevation of the rude? We all see that colonization, which lifts up a neighbourhood from Devon and places them down together in the paradise of New Zealand, to help, and cheer, and cherish one another, is even in this 'devil take the hindmost' dispensation far preferable to selfish individual emigration. Look at the one hundred provision retailers in a single street, each burning gas and life till twelve o'clock at night to parcel out those commodities which one could do quite as easily. Take up a directory—count the number of tradesmen and shopkeepers in any town—London for example. It seems as if one-half of the whole population consumed the substance of the community in the profits of mere distribution, producing actually nothing, except, indeed, heart-burning, rivalry, envy of one another. What a fearful waste is here of the mind, the time, the industry, the skill of society. A dozen methodical, assiduous contrivers could do it all—or they might relieve each other, and spare time to the rest for relaxation, study, health, the country. When men have attained to the greater heights of reason, dukes and earls, millionaires, great landowners, will begin to discover that, after all, they cannot enjoy the best sources of elevated happiness by means of money or power—that their acres are theirs only in parchment—that the glories of air, earth, sky, and water, and sunset, and the majestic roof fretted with golden fire, are the property of all who have eyes, and ears, and nostrils, and lungs, and a sense of beauty and intelligence—and that the privilege of looking on and moving in the parks of peers is as much a property in them as their legal possession is. A duke can but ride one horse at a time, and eat one dinner—so can a drayman."

'Tis not in them but in thy power
To double ev'n the sweetness of a flower."

What, indeed, are our British Museums, our National Galleries, our public libraries, our royal parks, but a beginning of a sort of Communism, imparting to the whole community the rational luxuries which surround the great, without the anxious cares of their possession? Machinery is but co-operation. The bible that cost £500 to the few is to be had for 1s. by all. The gown and stockings of the kitchen wench are finer and more elegant than the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth. Our cobblers fly from Glasgow to London swifter than the Flying Childers, and at a cost suited to the profits of mere shoemaking. Our weavers trip to Paris. Our farm labourers push their fortunes at the antipodes. Our hod-men read the news of the whole world as early as the foreign secretary. The public and the vulgar, and hear, and enjoy the best of everything. The cheap library of the artisan is superior to the former literature of kings. In fact, the great possess no such luxuries as those they have to share with the million. And what is Communism but carrying out these economies to a larger application, with more searching frugality of material, and a more fraternal mutuality of kindness? To consider the matter curiously, the great rich man is but a distributor, like the rest of us. He cannot eat or drink, or wear £300,000 a-year. When he gets it, it is but to get rid of it. All his superfluity of possession, above the comfortable supply of wants, is of no use to him, but to part with it. The rest is mere fancy—a delusion—a disease. If he puts it in the bank it is there no more than an

entry in a ledger—if he takes it out he but scatters among flunkies and fiddlers, and artists, tailors, and gamblers, wine merchants, cooks, and authors, what he has collected from farmers, or gathered from tenants, or merchants. Could he be surrounded with all these without possessing them, reason, when it mounts higher, will tell him that individual property in them can add nothing to them or to him—and as for his parks, his gardens, and his house, what can he do more than look at them, like any stray sight-seer, or poetical view-hunter, that perhaps envies him of that which he can enjoy as thoroughly by the mere use of his eyesight? It is poverty, dependence, and hunger which make men avaricious, and covetous, and strong in the sense of property. When Cook discovered those happy Pacific Isles, so blest by Nature that man had but to stretch forth his hand and get food for the gathering, and needed no clothing or house, but the kindly circumambient air, he found the sense of property dead within them—

'Monarchs are but the beggar's shadows.'

'for behold the kingdom of heaven is within you.' Even Art, of which Wealth used to be the only patron, is coming to depend more and more upon the half-crowns of the many—and if Art could live handsomely without the half-crowns, it would begin to love itself for itself, and for the gratitude and admiration of its fellows."

We would direct especial attention to his chapters on Peasant Proprietary, Entail and Primogeniture, Taxation, Free Trade, and Religion. From the last-named we extract this picture of

THE CHURCH—IDEAL AND ACTUAL.

"We set a high political and social value upon religion. We think the institution in society of a priesthood of incalculable benefit. That there shall be in these realms twenty thousand educated men, eminent among their fellow citizens for moral worth, social respectability, and superior intelligence, whose functions it shall be, weekly, to call the people together, and remind them of their moral duties, instruct them in their conduct, lead them upward to the thought of God, immortality, and the infinite significance of their own souls—who shall daily be among them, healing the breaches of families, comforting the distressed, and consoling and helping the poor—if ever there was an office worth paying for it is that. Righteousness exalteth a nation politically—the more moral a people are the more orderly, great, and rich they will become. A policeman and a soldier sitting in a man's own heart, and whispering to him the decalogue—is it not the cheapest and best of constables?"

"Yet of all the forty thousand sermons preached weekly in our churches and chapels, how many are worth the hearing? What virtuous actions do they inspire—what vice do they repress—crime and pauperism are more rampant than ever. How many homilies will bear a reading of the many which are printed? The fault is not in the people. If a preacher be but tolerably eloquent his church is crowded. Of the noblest institution in the world we make the very meanest use. We repeat a single prayer five times every Sunday morning. We are told to enter into our closet and shut the door when we pray. In place of that we 'weary heaven with prayers' in public congregation. We are informed that we shall not be heard for our much praying. Our answer to that is a book full of Act of Parliament matins and vespers, which so gnaw the tympanum and wear out the very spirit, whose physical organ cannot sustain too long the ecstasy of devotion, that at last an appeal to Heaven falls upon the sense and weighs upon the auditory nerve—

'Like a twice told tale,
Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man.'

"In fact, we endow theology—not religion. We busy ourselves with what men should believe, rather than with what they should do. We stereotype opinion. We are worse than papists. They at least have a *living* infallible interpreter of the Bible, who can change the tenor of its meaning as greater intelligence sheds more light upon it. But we have made choice of 300 dead popes, who, two hundred and fifty years ago, declared what we were to believe, and what we were to deny, and put it into an Act of Parliament, and proclaimed that that alone should be the religion of the free people of England in *secula seculorum*. Amen!"

ST. JOHN'S COLUMBUS.

A Life of Christopher Columbus. By Horace Roscoe St. John. Sampson Low.

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth century (1485) a majestic looking stranger, foot-sore and weary, his hair grey before its time, his face lined with thought and anxiety, his eye luminous with the light of great thoughts, appeared at the gate of the convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, close to the seaport of Palos de Morquer, and begged a little bread and water for his child. It was given as refreshment was given in those days. At that moment, the prior, Juan Perez de Marchena, passed, and struck by the appearance of the stranger, entered into conversation with him.

That stranger was Columbus, the visionary, whose hope it was to sail

"Beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars."

Ridiculed by the wise men of Portugal, who, nevertheless, tried to cheat him out of his discovery, he had travelled to Genoa in hopes that the republic would listen to his adventurous scheme; but Genoa and Venice were deaf; and he returned once more to Portugal, and was now on his way to Spain.

The life of Columbus is a poem. The Genoese weaver rose to become High Admiral of Spain and discoverer of the New World, but, in the passage, had to undergo all that

"Patient merit of the unworthy takes;" he had to buffet bravely with all the neglect which stands like a dull log in the current of genius, but which, though it may fret the stream and make it bristly, yet never serves as a real dam to any genius; like a brave and valiant man he bore all that Spenser has so feelingly described:—

"To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in bitter discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortless despair;"

and though he wailed, and though he railed, though he despaired and felt sick at heart, yet onwards the divine impulse drove him, onwards he went through the thorny path of obstacles, until success fell like sunlight on his head.

Visionary his scheme was; are not all great schemes visions which success must consolidate into realities? Yet it was distinguished from a mere fantastic chimaera in the fact of its being no more than a bold projection into space of an idea which had long dimly hovered about the minds of men.

"The numerous endeavours," Mr. St. John says, "to explore the regions of the setting sun proved it was upon no slender thread of probability that mankind hung its belief in the existence of a new world beyond the vast Atlantic. Failure was accounted for, not by the folly of the attempt itself, but by the chances of fortune, or by the neglect and timidity of those who undertook it. Ships had been equipped and sent forth beyond the bourne of waters, to return no more. The Phœnician navigators sailed far into this mysterious sea, and brought back rumours to confirm the general belief. The annals of Carthage indicate discoveries, the exact record of which is lost. From those times until the fifteenth century, an intermittent series of expeditions maintained life in the idea. But hasty preparations, ill-calculated arrangements, or hearts growing suddenly faint, brought all enterprise to a common termination—discouragement and failure."

Nay, more, the very time was brightened with new discoveries, as Mr. St. John might easily have made significant by a rapid narrative of the recent Portuguese voyages, especially those of Ca da Mosto and the heroic Prince Henry; in the space of seventy years discovery on the African coast had extended from Cape Nam to the Cape of Good Hope, something more than seven thousand miles, and this before the invention of the astrolabe had given navigation its powerful aid. There was thus a nebulous mass, so to speak, ready for consolidation, out of which a world would come. Add to this, first, the invention of printing and the general stimulus it gave to all European intellect by its prodigal scattering of seeds hitherto confined to small and remote spots; and, secondly, the invention of the quadrant, in its first rude form of an astrolabe, with its special stimulus to navigation, by enabling the seaman to disdain creeping timidly along the coast and to venture boldly athwart the terrible ocean, because he now could ascertain his distance from the equator; and you have thus before your mind some outline of the general conditions which made the vision of Columbus every day less and less of a mere phantasy "proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain."

But now to these general conditions we must add the special qualifications of the Genoese weaver's son. At the University of Pavia he studied Latin, geometry, geography, and navigation. Early buffeting with the waves gave him incessant materials for applying his scientific generalizations. His youth was spent at sea. Probably he did a little in the buccannery line—then rather a pleasant excitement than a very serious crime. At any rate his youth was intensified by adventure which nourished the daring of his prophetic spirit. In the fortieth year of his age we find him at Lisbon, gallant in bearing, full of high thoughts and stately courtesies, and grave with the solemnity of deep religious feelings. At mass he met with Felipa Muñiz Perestrelo (so the Spanish authorities give the name; Mr. St. John calls her Felippa de Palestrello) the daughter of the late governor of Porto Santa. She was poor in worldly goods, but rich in the qualities of heart and mind, and Columbus married her; she brought him all the charts, papers, and memoranda of her father, the old navigator, and these Columbus studied with passion. When not engaged in any maritime expedition he supported himself by the construction of maps. A significant fact! Nay, his maps were so well executed as to excite considerable attention.

Dreamers will do well to ponder on this glimpse into the great dreamer's life! Columbus is a visionary, but he does not waste the hours in luxurious reverie, building cloud palaces and delighting in their splendour; his instinct tells him that the western world will never be discovered by merely thinking of it. He trains himself. All appliances towards his object are carefully sought. He reads, he enquires, he makes expeditions, he constructs maps. The path across the Atlantic is the pole-star of his labours, but he never forgets, in contemplation of the Ideal, the pressing necessities of the Actual. Mr. St. John says:—

"Being frequently in the society of his brother-in-law, Pedro Correo, also a navigator, his attention was directed to the discoveries then making on the African coasts, to the passage to India, and to the widely-diffused rumours of an unknown continent, or vast archipelago in the west. These ideas received strength from his geographical studies, which showed how vast a blank there was on the general map of the world. Rumours and traditions floated through Europe, were elaborated in the mind of Columbus, and moulded into a solid opinion, based on three classes of authority: reason, or the nature of things, the testimony of learned writers, and the reports of navigators."

"That the earth was a terraqueous globe, which might be travelled round from east to west, was his first axiom. Now, the vast oriental hemisphere being the great object of discovery, it appeared clear to him that, sailing in a westerly direction, the navigator must either pursue an uninterrupted track across the ocean to the Indian continent, or be opposed by the shores of some unknown region. In either case the result would be important. The rival cities of Venice and Genoa were then the great trading powers of Europe. The former almost monopolized the commerce of the East, so that it was a national pride that impelled Columbus to this great adventure, which might open a new channel to the oriental seas, through which the wealth of those exhaustless regions might pour into the port of Genoa. It was a patriotic idea, and the refusal to encourage him was a disgrace to his native city."

"The testimony of writers, ancient and modern, also threw itself into the scale; and no little weight was added by reports of certain indications of land in the west, which adventurous navigators brought from that tempestuous region. A piece of wood, elaborately carved, but not with an iron instrument, had been found at sea, thirteen hundred and fifty miles west of Cape St. Vincent. A similar fragment had drifted from the same quarter to Porto Santo, whilst reeds of an immense size continually floated from the west. In the Azores, it was a tradition that many huge pine trees, of an unknown species, had been wafted from the lands of the setting sun; and the bodies of two men, belonging to a strange race, were also said to have been cast ashore. Land had been dimly and distantly seen by various navigators, whose vessels had been carried by storms far westward over the dark Atlantic; and, therefore, by a process of logic, not sophistical, Columbus judged that an undiscovered region lay beyond that sea,—a fertile, peopled land, from which the inhabitants of Christendom were shut out by no natural law."

But, in spite of all the floating rumours, Columbus could gain little credence, especially from men of science and geographers. This is always the case. A new idea meets with its stoutest opponents from the professional upholders of the old; and this may be explained without recurrence to sordid and interested motives, by the very fact that their positive convictions describe a circle within the very limits where the new idea expands.

Having thus grouped the main facts, let us now return to Columbus, whom we left interesting the prior by an exposition of his scheme. The prior called into their council Fernandez Garcia, a physician, and having carefully considered the matter, Juan Perez undertook to gain an audience for Columbus with the Queen of Spain; meanwhile the boy, Diego, was to be left at the convent to be educated:—

"Columbus came to Cordova early in 1486. To obtain an audience of the King and Queen was not easy. The Prior of Prado regarded his scheme as a vision. He was poor. He came in humble apparel, without pomp or clamour, and, therefore, they gave him no ear. Nor were circumstances favourable. The court was then in the full excitement of a war against the Moorish powers, whose formidable coalition offered little promise of their speedy subjugation. Other claims of variety and moment thus pressed upon the King and Queen, leaving them no leisure to heed the importunities of an adventurer. It is even questionable whether Fernando de Talavera ever brought it to the royal ear. So passed the summer and autumn. Columbus supported himself by the construction of maps, and, meanwhile, was introduced into the house of Alonso de Quintanilla, finance-controller of Castile, who warmly encouraged his project. By the aid of him and others he became acquainted with Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo and grand cardinal of Spain."

"He at first opposed religious objections to the scheme, but, being no bigot, these were removed, and Columbus explained his theory. Listening with steady attention, the archbishop gradually felt convinced that the project was based on reason. He became the firm friend of the navigator, introduced him at court, and, by this means, Columbus at length obtained an audience of the king and

queen. The project struck them. They referred it to a council of learned men—astronomers and cosmographers. The conference took place in the convent of St. Stephen, at Salamanca. Unnumbered objections were urged. Was the world round, and not flat, with the skies reared above like a tent? If so, were there any dwellers in the opposite hemisphere? Could men walk thus hanging by their feet? Could it rain, hail, and snow upwards? Could trees grow with their branches downwards? Even allowing this, could ships, having once passed the central line, sail back over the vast upward slope of sea? Such was the logic of the learned men. Some said the world was an island floating onwards through a vast ocean, whose opposite shore was a limit to the duration of created things."

Herrera, in his *Historia General*, tells us that the council decided that the scheme was "vain and impossible, and that it did not belong to the majesty of such great princes to determine anything upon such weak grounds of information." Of course the council now seems exquisitely foolish, and is laughed at with lofty scorn by the very men who, every day of their lives, are treating schemes far less startling and improbable as the "delusions of madmen." How many of those who sneer at the Spanish Junta would have been far-seeing enough to welcome Columbus? To the honour of Ferdinand and Isabella be it said, that at least they were willing to entertain the scheme but that their funds were absorbed by war; and they intimated as much to Columbus, saying they could not undertake any new expenses till the war was concluded, but then they would more seriously examine his plan—*no podian emprender nuevos gastos, que cuando aquello mandarian examinar mejor su pretension y le despidieron.*—(HERRERA.)

Columbus, after five years' delay in endeavouring to persuade Ferdinand and Isabella, left Cordova for Seville, where he applied to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a wealthy prince, and, failing there, to the Duke of Medina Celi (Mr. St. John calls him simply Celini, we presume on Irving's authority), who kept him two years living in his palace, and was willing to undertake the whole enterprise himself, but then he saw it was one for the Queen, to whom accordingly he wrote, urging the matter upon her attention. This letter is given in Navarrete's collection, and proves that Mr. St. John is too hasty in saying that Celini "held out hopes which he subsequently withdrew," for in that letter he expresses his wish to have a share in the enterprise even should the Queen undertake it. To have done the thing alone, without the Queen's sanction, would have been a perilous act even for a mighty noble.

After some further delays, an audience was granted, and

"An agreement was drawn up, stipulating on the part of the adventurer that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy the office, honours, and prerogatives of admiral in all lands discovered by him; that he should be viceroys in all such territories, with the privilege of nominating three candidates for the government of each island or province, of whom the sovereign should choose one; that he should retain for himself a tenth of all profits derived from the collection of precious commodities, whether by barter or otherwise; that he, or his lieutenant, should be sole judge in all disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain, provided the High Admiral of Castile enjoyed similar power in his district."

"That he might fit out, at his private expense, an eighth part of each enterprise, and to retain an eighth part of the profits."

"These conditions being agreed to, it remained to procure and furnish forth an armament. Columbus, now more than forty-five years old, was relieved of much anxiety by the appointment of Diego, his son, to an office of page at court. To prepare him for this, two learned men of Moguer undertook the completion of his education. The navigator's mind, therefore, was wholly turned to his enterprise. Now, however, a new difficulty arose. The shipowners of Palos refused to furnish vessels, while officers and men could not be found willing to accompany the expedition. The perils of that great voyage were beheld through the magnifying medium of superstitious ignorance. The Atlantic ocean was peopled with countless terrors which a timid imagination can devise, and all shrunk from the adventure, until Martin Alonso Pinzon redeemed his promise by his equipment of a vessel and an offer to embark, with his brother, Vicente Yanez, also a skilful navigator. At length others followed, and Columbus found himself in command of the Santa Maria, a large decked vessel, prepared expressly for the voyage, which bore the admiral's flag; the Pinta captained by Martin Alonso, with his brother Francisco as pilot; and the Nina, by Vicente. These two were caravels—light vessels, without deck in the centre, but built up high at the stem and stern. Equipped, manned, and furnished with ample munition, this little squadron was, in appearance, but a humble instrument to accomplish a design so great. With the pilots, the crew, notary, a physician, and surgeon, several private adventurers, and their servants, the whole number embarked was no more than one hundred and twenty."

"Now, with religious ceremonies, confession, and sacred communion, all was ready. On Friday, therefore, the 3rd of August, 1492, the sails were set, and the three

vessels, bound on their mission of discovery, weighed anchor from before Huelva, and bent their course towards the Canary Isles. Glad in heart, but not yet confident that resolution would not fail his fellow voyagers, Columbus made all haste to lose sight of Europe. On the third day the Pinta's rudder was disabled. Alonso Pinzon secured it with ropes, but these gave way, and the vessel lagged on her course. The admiral, therefore, touched at the Canaries, and for three weeks sought another ship, but finding none, caused a new rudder to be made for the Pinta, and started forth again. The eruption of Tenerife, witnessed by the crew, spread a panic among them; but Columbus, bringing his scientific knowledge to dispel this superstition, allayed all fear, and induced them to proceed vigorously on their way."

Behold them, then, at last fairly launched upon the mighty way! After so many disappointments, after such eating cares, the first step is taken, the winds blow hope and exultation to the brave adventurer, the dream of his life is about to be accomplished:—

"For three days a dead calm brooded over the sea; but on the 9th of September, when Ferro, the last of the Canaries, was grown dim in the distance, a lively breeze sprang up, and swiftly and steadily the three ships sailed to the west. Fear now possessed the crews: lamentations broke out, and a panic spread. Sight of land was lost, and a strange region—perhaps an ocean without limit—perhaps vast quicksands and submerged rocks—lay before them. Nevertheless, Columbus, by dwelling on the wealth of the undiscovered world, excited their imaginations, and revived the fainting spirit of enterprise.

"Advancing rapidly before this powerful gale, the admiral feared lest their great distance from Europe might awaken terror in the minds of his fellow voyagers. The expedient of a false reckoning of the ship's progress suggested itself, and the crews were thus kept in ignorance of the real breadth of sea they had traversed. On the 11th they saw floating part of a mast belonging to some large vessel, which was looked upon as ominous of shipwreck. On the 13th, in the evening, the variation of the needle was observed. It pointed no more to the north star, but to the north-west, and gradually increased its changing tendency. Nature's laws seemed altered. They were in a trackless sea, where even the mysterious guides of heaven failed them. To the crews this circumstance appeared pregnant with alarm; but Columbus ingeniously allayed their fears. The needle, he said, pointed to some stationary and unseen point, and the motion of the Polar star caused the variation of the compass. The solar system was not then understood, and this explanation received credence. The phenomenon is now the source of no surprise, although its cause is still unknown. This is a curious illustration of human weakness. The most portentous wonders are disregarded because they are familiar, whilst novelty, even of a trivial character, makes deep impression on the mind. The vast organization of the universe, with the power that created it, form matter of light discussion, whilst the smallest deviation from the accustomed course of nature affords food for more marvel than the noblest and grandest operations of Almighty agency.

The morning of the 14th of September was ushered in with appearances of joyful augury. A heron and a water-wagtail fluttered on the wing around the mast-head, and were regarded as promise of land. The next night they saw something like a flame of fire falling from the sky into the sea—another sign of hope. They now came under the influence of the trade winds—the steady, unvarying, unceasing breezes, which follow the sun, and breathe over the ocean between the tropics, from east to west. Still onward, before this ceaseless gale, they sailed, further, and still further, over the unknown, un navigated ocean.

"Large patches of weeds were now seen floating on the water, drifting from the west. Some seemed to have been detached from rocks, others to have been washed from river banks—some yellow and withered, others green and fresh. A live crab was on one of them: this Columbus carefully preserved. They saw also a white tropical bird, of a kind that never sleeps on the sea. Tunny fish sported around the vessels, and recalled to the navigator's mind the description of Aristotle, of certain adventurers, driven by storms far into the west, where the waters were clothed with matted weeds, and where the tunny was in great plenty. He had now, he thought, arrived in the Weedy Sea, described by ancient mariners.

"On the 18th, the same breeze still blew over a tranquil sea. Each vessel strove to be in advance. The Pinta, a fast sailer, kept ahead, and Alonso Pinzon, hailing the admiral, told him that a great flight of birds hovered in the north, where some singularly shaped clouds, in the peculiar light of sunset, assumed the appearance of islands. Columbus, however, detected the delusion, and maintained his course. On the next day the breeze sank, and drizzling showers succeeded. Two pelicans visited the vessels, and, as these are shore-loving birds, appeared to herald land. Two hundred fathoms of line, however, found no bottom to the sea. Columbus judged that islands must lie to the north and south; but, having engaged to sail westward, refused to alter his course, although the sailors murmured deeply when they thought of the vast track of ocean they had left behind.

"When, on the 20th, the wind veered to the south-west, this circumstance, though unfavourable to their progress, was hailed gladly, as the unvarying gale, blowing from the east to the west, appeared preternatural and mysterious. Orchard-loving birds flew over head, with lively songs—cheering music to the sea-weary navigators. These small songsters, they thought, would not sing if weary, and a long flight from land must exhaust their strength.

"At length the vessels entered upon a track of water matted with a vast covering of weeds, sweeping in huge floating fields as far as eye could reach, and impeding

their way, for the breeze was weak and variable. The crews believed this to indicate a shallow sea, and feared to rush blindly on the rocky and desolate boundaries of creation, where, amid breakers and quicksands, the vessels would be engulfed in inevitable wreck. Still the sounding line sank vainly in search of the sea-bed. Then the wind fell, the weather calmed, the glassy sea scarcely heaved under its influence. A whale rolled its broad back above the water, and the sailors, who found in every phenomenon the active source of fear, dreaded lest in that sluggish sea they were doomed to be fixed for ever. Columbus never failed to account plausibly for these things; but mutiny threatened; alarm induced discontent, and discontent appeared to forebode an open and irresistible rebellion. On the 25th, however, as though by a special providence, the glassy ocean broke into a long heavy roll, and dispelled the dread of an eternal stagnation.

The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew,
The furrow followed free—
We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.

"The sailors still reasoned on the prudence of proceeding further. They were now far beyond the bounds of navigation; they had been wafted, day after day, over unknown expanses of ocean, and it appeared that they were sailing through an illimitable sea, which rolled its waters to eternity beyond. Provisions could not last for ever, and every day lengthened the distance between them and the known world. Still they did not understand how far they had in reality proceeded. Knots of conspirators, nevertheless, clustered on the decks, and whispered conversations nursed the idea of rebellion into a definite resolve."

Herrera tells us that the discontented thought it would be their best plan to throw him quietly into the sea, and say he unfortunately fell in while looking at the stars! Poor fellows! their agitation was not kept in check by the exalted hopes which swelled his bosom, and with diminished faith in their captain's power they went plunging down the waves, mocked by signs of a land which never came in sight:—

"Affairs were ripening to a crisis, when—now that all expedients seemed to fail, and hope was well nigh worn out—fresh weeds floated by, a fish, known to inhabit only rocky waters, swam around; a branch of thorn, covered with berries, tossed before them, and they picked up a reed, a small board, and a curved staff. Again Expectation stood tiptoe on the prow, and the three vessels went gaily on, steered by Hope, with joyful hearts on board.

"At evening, when the usual vesper hymn was sung, Columbus addressed his companions, reminded them of God's goodness shown in the stormless voyage and tranquil sea, and in the multiplied signs which had led them to the land, promised long ago by hope. On leaving the Canaries he had predicted that, having sailed two thousand one hundred miles, it would be wise to shorten sail at midnight. Land might intercept their course ere morning broke. This precaution was now taken. A vigilant watch was ordered, and a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension, was promised to him who should first proclaim the sight of a shore.

"Away westward they kept their slackening course. An unremitting watch was maintained on board. The day closed, the sun set, and night fell. Columbus, from the lofty poop stretched his gaze towards the horizon, now growing dim in the thickening light. At ten o'clock, a glimmer, as of a distant beacon, seemed to shine in the west; he called one of the company, asking him if he saw a light in that direction. He said, Yes. But Columbus, unwilling to delude himself with a fancy, called another who mounted, but the appearance had vanished. It soon shone out again, like a torch in the sea-tossed bark of a fisherman, or a light carried to and fro in a forest. Slight as was this sign of hope, Columbus rested on it with sanguine expectation.

"Morning brought the blessed fulfilment. A gun, fired from the Pinta, carried on its flash the confirmation of their hopes—the intelligence that a land was seen. Rodrigo de Triana first saw it. The new world was discovered, and the navigator's long life of weariness, toil, and disappointment was crowned with success—success which opened to the nations of civilized Europe rich, unbounded, and exhaustless fields of enterprise. The reader who accompanies me further will, doubtless, not fail to compare the savage regions then first seen, with the flourishing dominions now rising into yearly increasing power, under the fostering influence of the great united republic. The contrast between summer and winter is not greater than that of the verdant, fresh, and fruitful shores, first revealed to the view of Columbus, with the populous city-studded coasts, now marked with the thousand features of a ripening civilization."

For the subsequent career of the discoverer we must refer to the volume of Mr. St. John. It is an elegant and careful compilation, reduced to the smallest compass compatible with clearness. As a first work it is of good promise, not only in the excellence of its workmanship, but in the modesty and good taste with which it is written; the extracts we have already made will substantiate our criticism, and we close our notice with this narration of one of the subsequent episodes:—

CAPTURE OF A CARIB CHIEF.

"During the absence of Columbus, the affairs of the colony had been stirred up to a complicated mass of confusion. Caonabo, the Carib king, had laid siege to the mountain fortress of Cibao. The little garrison had spread slaughter through his ranks. Ojeda, a bold-hearted young

Spaniard, had, with his few dauntless followers, vanquished ten thousand enemies; but this victory, although it created terror, did not inspire respect. The licentious profligacy of the colonists at Isabella scattered wide the feelings of enmity and revenge. An armed coalition of native chiefs was formed, and the admiral, on his return, at once saw that the salvation of the settlement must be effected by the most vigorous means. Guacanagari now once more visited him. He revealed a secret plot among the island caciques, and promised the assistance of his forces. But skilful management was required. The admiral resolved to effect, by stratagem, what it must cost much blood to purchase with arms. Caonabo, the Carib chief, was an enemy by no means contemptible. His territory was naturally fortified by ravines, forests, rivers, rocks, and morasses, more impregnable than granite ramparts. But Alonso de Ojeda engaged to take him alive by a subtle manoeuvre. With ten chosen followers, mounted and armed, he reached the populous town where Caonabo dwelt. He was received with the courtesy which a brave man deserved from an enemy equally fearless. He asked the cacique to visit Isabella, there to conclude a treaty, and lured him by the offer of the church-bell—long an object of wonder to the Indians, who could not account for its gathering the Spaniards to the house of worship, but by the supposition that it spoke articulately in an unknown tongue.

"Caonabo consented. On the way home, they arrived at a broad shallow river, whose clear limpid waters tempted the cacique to bathe. Ojeda then produced a set of polished-steel manacles, bright as silver, which he described as ornaments worn by Spanish kings, who had received them as gifts from heaven. He proposed that the chief, putting them on, should mount behind his horse, and astonish his subjects with them. Flattered by the idea, the cacique consented, and the haughty Carib, thus subdued by a trick, was presented to Columbus, a manacled but not a humbled captive. He was kept in chains in close confinement, but otherwise treated kindly. Severe as it may seem, this course was, perhaps, necessary, for conciliation of this chief was impossible. They might cheat him out of his power, but could not break his unconquerable spirit of enmity and independence. When the admiral entered any room, it was customary for all to rise; but Caonabo sat unmoved, rising only when Ojeda approached. In explanation, he said Ojeda had dared to visit his territory and seize him, which Columbus had not ventured to attempt. The brother of this Carib chief, in revenge for his capture, made a second assault on Fort St. Thomas, in the Cibao hills; but his army of seven thousand men was routed by a small body of horse under Ojeda."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Embroidered Banner and other Marvels. By Lieutenant-Colonel Hort. J. and A. Darling.

It is difficult for critics to keep pace with Colonel Hort; he writes faster than we can read. He treats literature as an amusement, and gallops through it with a gay and easy air. Almost every month gives a new work from his pen; and to criticize such works with any severity would seem like taking an unfair advantage of him. The present volume is a collection of short stories and anecdotes, principally Spanish, illustrated by eight coloured engravings of an intensely commonplace order. It is a showy volume, but its glitter is that of tinsel. There is somewhat of the pleasant soldier in all Colonel Hort writes; but he is apt to care more for the writing than the matter.

Theory of Heat and the Vital Principle. By Arthur Trevelyan. *On the Vibrations caused by Heat and the Vapour-lamp Furnaces, and Experiments with Chlorine Gas.* By the same Author. *On the Insanity of Mankind.* By the same.

J. Paterson and Co., Edinburgh. The interest this gentleman takes in all matters of moral and physical progress is a guarantee that whatever he issues will have the merit at least of practical and novel results. All the subjects named of scientific character are treated with the brevity of one who is quite master of them, and the completeness of the diagrams which illustrate the text leave nothing to be desired in the way of explanation. With respect to the *Theories of Heat and the Vital Principle* the editors of the *Chemical Gazette and Electrical Magazine* rejected them because "entirely opposed to the views generally entertained," and likely to involve a complete revolution of established opinion on these subjects. Precisely for these reasons we think the public should take an interest in these essays, which are written with great clearness, and the theories advanced are supported by eminent authorities.

The essay on the *Insanity of Mankind* is a fearless application of moral results in a scientific manner to the solution of social and religious difficulties.

Chapters on Policy v. Straightforwardness; or Thoughts on the Political, Religious, and Literary World. (Reprinted from the *Ashton Times*.) By F. Rowland Young, Diss, Norfolk. Micklewaite, Ashton-under-Lyme.

These are a series of papers dedicated to the fearful and unbelieving. They are written by one who writes readily and earnestly, and, what is more, with respect to antagonists, justly. They abound in facts and quotations peculiar to the school of outspoken thinkers among the working classes, which is daily receiving accessions, and enforced by Mr. Young in a manner that greatly adds to their value.

Hints on Elocution; comprising Observations on the Improvement and Management of the Voice, Modulation, Articulation, Pronunciation, Defective Speech, Emphases, Pauses, Action, Expression of Feelings, &c. Original, compiled, and selected, by Charles William Smith, Professor of Elocution. (Second thousand, greatly improved.) George Biggs.

Useful this work certainly is, though it professes to give no more than general hints. Its value consists in the selection from many elaborate treatises, which few have

patience to read, just those general principles which may easily be remembered and applied. Read in a quarter of an hour this little tractate will furnish materials for years of reflection on the subject.

A Model Law. Published by the British Anti-State Church Association.

This association has issued various small publications at a price for general and gratuitous distribution. The *Model Law* is the act of Virginia of 1786, which is unlike any other law extant; is one of the most useful contributions which Republican legislation has made to the world—a model, indeed, of religious freedom, which monarchies might with advantage follow.

The Red Republican. Part 3. Collins, Fleet-street.

The variety and ultra tone of the articles in this journal are fully maintained in this new part, and No. 16 contains a correspondence between Mr. G. J. Holyoake and Mr. Thornton Hunt, arising out of the labours of the Democratic Conference, includes a long letter from Mr. Hunt, on the "Past Failures and Future Policy of Democratic Politicians." A comprehensive and candid comment from one who necessarily looks at Chartism from a point of sight different from that from which it is viewed by its usual partisans, can hardly fail to throw a critical and suggestive light upon this popular theme. That such suggestions are readily and courteously admitted by the Editor of the *Red Republican*, who invites his numerous readers to ponder over and discuss the points raised, certainly implies a more manful and intelligent determination to see their way to new influence than this class of politicians have been credited with.

Favourite Song Birds. No 5. The Bullfinch. By H. G. Adams. W. S. Orr and Co.

Thoughts on the Nature of Man, the Propagation of Creeds, and the Formation of Human Character. Joseph Clayton.

The Philosopher's Mite to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Houliston and Stoneman.

Penny Maps. Part 3. France—British Isles—Sweden and Norway. Chapman and Hall.

PERIODICALS FOR OCTOBER.

Fraser's Magazine.

The Zephyr.

The Rambler.

Household Words.

Peter Parley's New Monthly Journal.

The Looker-On. Edited by Fritz and Liolett.

The Truth-Seeker.

The Modern Lecturer.

The Freethinkers' Magazine.

The Press.

The People's Library and Family Instructor.

THE SMALL FARMER.—If the small farmer did not acquire wealth, he kept his station. The land which he had tilled with the sweat of his brow, while his strength lasted, supported him when his strength was gone: his sons did the work when he could work no longer; he had his place in the chimney-corner, or the bee-hive chair; and it was the light of his own fire which shone upon his grey hairs. Compare this with the old age of the day-labourer, with parish allowance for a time, and the parish workhouse at last! He who lives by the wages of daily labour, and can only live upon those wages, without laying up store for the morrow, is spending his capital; a time must come when it will fail; in the road which he must travel, the poor-house is the last stage on the way to the grave. Hence it arises, as a natural result, that looking to the parish as his ultimate resource, and as that to which he must come at last, he cares not how soon he applies to it. There is neither hope nor pride to withhold him: why should he deny himself any indulgence in youth, or why make any efforts to put off for awhile that which is inevitable at the end? That the labouring poor feel thus, and reason thus, and act in consequence, is beyond all doubt; and if the landholders were to count up what they have gained by throwing their estates into large farms, and what they have lost by the increase in the poor-rates, of which that system has been one great cause, they would have little reason to congratulate themselves on the result.—*Robert Southey.*

IMPROVED FARMING.—The improved system of farming has lessened the comforts of the poor. It has either deprived the cottager of those slips of land which contributed greatly to his support, or it has placed upon them an excessive and grinding rent. But as the comforts of the cottagers are diminished, his respectability and self-respect are diminished also, and hence arises a long train of evils. The practice of farming upon a great scale has unquestionably improved the agriculture of the country; better crops are raised at less expense: but in a national point of view, there is something more to be considered than the produce of the land and the profit of the landholders. The well-being of the people is not of less importance than the wealth of the collective body. By the system of adding field to field, more has been lost to the state than has been gained to the soil: the gain may be measured by roads and perches—but how shall the loss be calculated? The loss is that of a link in the social chain—of a numerous, most useful, and most respectable class, who, from the rank of small farmers, have been degraded to that of day-labourers.—*Ibid.*

The Arts.

OPENING OF THE PRINCESS'S THEATRE.

Never was there a better first night! Everybody was in high spirits, rightly attuned to enjoyment, ready to be pleased, and keeping up the ball of humour by sending it back again winged with hearty laughter to the actors. A pleasant sight it was to see the crowded expectation of that night! Well-known faces dotted the crowd; and the dress circle

presented an appearance of ladies and gentlemen seldom gracing a theatre now-a-days: it was like a night of the olden times when the drama flourished. And the actors! they, too, were in high spirits, inspired by the enthusiasm that was in the air, pleased at the opening of a new temple of the art, emulous of each other, yet each rightly placed, and acting well in concert. Never do we remember to have seen *Twelfth Night* so well played; never, perhaps, was it relished with a greater gusto. It showed how much can be done by casting a play well. It showed, also, how much the audience can do towards creating its own enjoyment. Half the prosperity of the jests certainly lay there. Willing to be pleased they were pleased; and, pleased, they gave the actors a *verve* which made them capable of pleasing. This is the unique source of that success of "First Nights" which has so often been remarked; and this, doubtless, was something of the feeling which warmed every audience in the palmy days of the drama.

The play was admirably cast, on the whole, well placed on the stage, with artistic elegance and sufficient splendour of scenery and costume, without prodigality or spectacle. There were some novelties in the cast. Ellen Kean was, of course, the "Viola," and played with even more than her usual delicacy and archness. In reflecting on her performance severe criticism might suggest that the comic portions were once or twice a little out of tone—a little too roguish and confident for "Viola"—wanting that ideal elevation which Shakespearian comedy demands; and yet these were the parts most vehemently applauded! The look with which she said "I am the man" was perfect; but that little saucy tap on her head, with the playful swagger which followed it, though they "brought down the house," appeared to us to betray a forgetfulness of "Viola" in the force of the situation—sweeping out of the ideal orbit into the lower orbit of a soubrette. We think her manner, when first introduced to "Olivia," just the sort of manner "Viola" might have found it necessary to assume to vindicate her manhood, and Mrs. Kean rightly, therefore, throws off "Viola" for the nonce; but, we submit that, when alone, "Viola" should absolutely throw off that assumed manner, and be herself again. The exquisite verses, "She never told her love," dropped melodiously from her, and were received with tremendous applause. The ghastly terror she portrayed during the duel was most artistically relieved by little touches of comedy. Mrs. Keeley appeared for the first time as "Maria." It was bright, pert, and effective. There is an intensity in all Mrs. Keeley does and says which makes her acting *all point*. Miss Phillips was misplaced in "Olivia." But, who now has the youth, grace, and courtesy befitting this *nobil donna*? Keeley's "Sir Andrew Aguecheek" is well known as a masterpiece of imbecility and incompetence: it is a perfect study. Harley, as the "Clown," played with great *verve*. "Sir Toby Belch" was a failure in the hands of Mr. Addison, who had not seized the part. "Sir Toby" should be saturated with good liquor, the energetic coarseness of his name betokens the habitual sot: the eye should wander in its uncertainty, the tongue move heavily, the gait be lax. Drink should ooze from every pore, his voice should speak of it, his whole manner should be moist. Mr. Addison was the soberest of men. His stagger had no heaviness, his manner had nothing vinous. Meadows as "Malvolio," made a decided hit. This is one of the most difficult parts in the whole range of Shakespearian noodles; and Meadows played it with great intelligence and care. The thin, hard pomposity, the self-sufficing narrowness, the man-in-office style of loftiness, the woodenheadiness of "Malvolio" were given to the life; and the famous but perilous scene of the letter, was a complete triumph. James Vining was a lively "Fabian," Ryder a picturesque "Captain," and Cathcart a very creditable "Sebastian." Altogether, the comedy went off with amazing spirit. It was followed by a new farce, called *Platonic Attachments*, by Bayle Bernard, the prince of original farce writers, and one who does not seek for pieces in the French repertory. Imagine Keeley as a quondam "fast man,"—the ex-member of a boat club, but now married and settled in life, having taken unto his bosom a partner no less formidable than legitimate, a sharp, clear, decisive woman, whose bright black eye is charged with volumes of curtain eloquence (the eye belongs to Mrs. Keeley, so you may estimate its power!) and whose deliberate opinion of bachelor friends is, that they must, one and all, be given up. Given up they are. "Thistledown" leads the life of a turtle-dove. That word is not written carelessly, for turtle-doves are desperate fighters! "Sarah Thistledown" has all the characteristics of that variety of the pigeon tribe: she coos and she *bills* him! But although "Thistledown" is not the man to disregard the solemn legalities of his position, still he is a *man*, he is susceptible, and from youth upwards has been an ardent admirer of the sex—platonically! Platonism has always seemed to us to hold very much the same position as the delusive cap with which grooms entice horses to leave the fresh grass they are grazing in the hope of a handful of oats; be that as it may, "Thistledown" has purely virtuous impulses in ac-

costing "Miss Milman," and lending her his umbrella. Who can doubt it? You do not; but that fiery-eyed "Mrs. Thistledown" may, perhaps, have less confidence in marital virtue. There is the rub! Meanwhile "Tom Rawlings," in the person of Alfred Wigan, has been pursuing "Mrs. Thistledown" with that obtrusive gallantry which distinguishes members of boat-clubs and possessors of elaborate whiskers. He follows her to her own house, and there meets with his old companion. Establishing himself upon the premises with that delightful ease, acquired only in farces, "Tom" transfers his affections from "Mrs. Thistledown" to "Miss Milman," and in the *im-broglio* which succeeds, dexterously screens "Thistledown," throws dust in his wife's eyes, and winds up the whole satisfactorily. The staple of this farce is old enough in all conscience, but it has good situations, is written with point, and is acted by the Keeleys and Wigan so that the fun is fast and furious.

On Monday *Hamlet* was put on the stage with greater splendour and artistic effect than has ever been seen in London: much of the arrangement being as novel as it is striking, and the dresses magnificent. The opening scene had the true ghastly aspect, chill, solemn, and mysterious; but the effect was marred by the bawling of "Francisco" and the want of hushed reverence and awe with which the others spoke of the apparition. This might easily be improved. Of the acting we must speak briefly, Charles Kean's "Hamlet" is undoubtedly his best Shakespearian character, and is quite a different performance from what it was some years ago; the melodramatic vehemence and startings are gone, and in their place a subdued and somewhat monotonous melancholy reigns which takes from the character its alternations of madness and the solemn repose of self-interrogation. But our differences with him on the subject are so extensive that we must postpone till another opportunity anything like criticism on the part: so elaborated a performance demands elaborate analysis, and shall have it, faults and beauties. Mrs. Kean was "Ophelia," by no means a favorite part with us, in her hands, though the mad scene she plays better than ever we saw it played: her listless rocking to and fro while singing was a most pathetic touch direct from nature! The "King" and "Queen" were regally done by Ryder and Miss Phillips, who looked very handsome. "Laertes" was given to Mr. Belton, a young and rising actor, with a handsome face and graceful gesture, who played very creditably. The "Polonius" of Mr. Addison was better than his "Sir Toby," but it was only conventional. Harley's "Gravedigger" was bursting with sententious importance, and his admiring friend simpered most characteristically in Meadows.

MACBETH AT SADLER'S WELLS.

Macbeth has been got up at Sadler's Wells in a very praiseworthy manner. There is a massive splendour in the decorations—a preference of breadth and colour to the glare of tin-foil and spangles; and the wretched system of stage perspective is altogether abandoned. Many alterations have been judiciously made in the grouping since the play was acted here two or three years ago. The banquet scene is differently arranged, and its rugged magnificence augmented; the disposal of lights in this scene was alone sufficient to convince us that the clumsy contrivance of foot-lamps might be successfully abolished.

We have seen Phelps play much better in "Macbeth" than he did the other evening. Miss Glyn was the "Lady Macbeth." Her slowness of delivery is becoming insufferable, and it seems purposeless. Her most effective passage was in the banquet-scene, when the stage-business actually got in advance, and so compelled her to hurry.

Mr. Marston's "Macduff" is weak—we are bound to add, from no lack of intelligence or care. His picturesque costume and graceful deportment make his presence on the stage always agreeable, but his unfortunate intonation baffles his efforts. George Bennett is an excellent "Banquo," and gives the timely little speech about the martlet with proper feeling. Why does he shirk the good old word "masonry" and substitute "mansionry?"

The minor characters were sustained in a manner unhappily rare, and we shall be much mistaken if several underlings in Mr. Phelps's company be not found worthy promotion. The *mélées* in the fifth act were as well managed as anything of the kind we remember to have seen. There is a growing tendency, however, to laugh at sham fights, no matter how close their semblance of real ones. Abstractedly this may be a fortunate indication; but the respect for everything relating to a poet should include even his stage directions, not to speak of the encouragement due to a generous observance of them.

Theatrical affairs are beginning to show some stir for the approaching season. The Haymarket and the Lyceum are about to open; and the Adelphi receives again its children who have been holiday making at the Haymarket. Several rumours have reached us, but not carrying with them their substantiation we forbear to circulate them.

Portfolia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—
GÖTHE.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE TO THE

YEARLY COURSE OF ROMAN HISTORY.

Delivered at the Ladies' College, 47, Bedford-square, October 1, 1850.

By F. W. NEWMAN.

It has been questioned whether we are to interpret the events of past time by the present, or conversely. Each view has been plausibly maintained. We ought, I believe, to combine both, in order to be correct. For the present and the past throw light on one another. To understand ourselves we must study our predecessors: to understand them, we must study ourselves.

This ought not to be thought a paradox; it is only part of a larger truth, viz., all things are best perceived by comparison and contrast. If we had never seen any colour but red, we should not be aware that anything was red; but when we see both red and green, our attention is stimulated, and we learn to discriminate. In this way the contrasts of ancient times to modern lead us to meditate more deeply on what is; while the similarities of the modern to the ancient enable us, by means of what *is*, to understand what *was*.

We have three ancient literatures extant, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin; out of which flow three main streams of ancient history. But the Hebrews were inhabitants of a very narrow district and made no distant or permanent conquests: moreover, their literature has nearly all a directly religious aim, is of very limited extent, and only by accident (as it were) gives us historical information. Hence it is of secondary importance in history, and is by this college intended to be comprized in theological knowledge.

There remain to us the two great subjects which we vaguely call Greek and Roman history. But our range of Greek history takes in all that is known of Ancient Assyria, Babylon, Syria, Lydia, Phœnicia, Egypt, Persia—of none of which countries or empires have we any full and continuous history. On the other hand, our Roman history comprizes what is known of the countries which came into contact with the Roman arms. These are, Italy, Spain, France, Britain, a large part of Germany, all of Modern Turkey, with Northern Africa, including the Carthaginian cities. To speak roughly, Greek gives us the history of the East, and Latin of the West. My historical lectures last year within these walls were mainly directed to Greece, and to the Eastern region of history: in the coming year the Western world will engage me.

There is more of variety and brilliancy in ancient Greece than in ancient Italy; yet for this very reason there was too much to embrace in so scanty a number of lectures. In Greece we have to tell, not of one city, and one civil polity, but of many; not of one race, but of several. We are not confined to the domain of politics, to accounts of war and peace, of industrial expansion and popular organization: we are also brought into poetry, poetical religion, and philosophy. At last the History of Greece proper suddenly breaks up, when the Macedonian arms spread over the whole Persian Empire, until Greece touches India, Bokhara, and Nubia. We get glimpses of distant countries, and leave off dissatisfied that our knowledge is so partial.

But, if in the Grecian world there was a more various and enticing scene, it must be admitted that the world of Rome is one which still more nearly concerns us. When Greece had attained her highest energy, it overflowed against Persia, her hereditary foe. To subdue the stubborn and poor barbarians of Europe was a very uninviting task; and, as the Greek arms spread eastward, little direct impression was made by Greek civilization on Europe at large. But with the progress of time Europe very sensibly changed. The Spaniards and the Gauls of proper France attained so much of industry and wealth as to attract Roman cupidity. The dominion of Rome reached successively to Spain, to France, to Britain; as well as to the southern bank of the Danube, and at last to Dacia (that is, to Wallachia) on the northern bank. At the Scotch Highlands and the whole frontier of Germany the Roman generals paused, and saw before them countries too full of mountain, swamp, or forest, too empty of moveable wealth, to repay the prodigious effort which it would cost to conquer and keep them. Thus the Gael and the German,—and, behind Germany, the Bohemian, the Pole, the Hungarian, the Russ,—remained outside the Roman empire: and, in a geographical view, that empire embraced but half of Europe. Nevertheless, a mere geographical view is here incomplete. What Horace says of Rome, when she conquered Greece,—

*"Captive Greece made captive her rude conqueror,
 And brought arts into rustic Latium;"*

this we may say of Germany, when her time came for conquering Rome. The Germans imbibed from Italy both arts and religion; and when political empire had fallen in the city of the Cæsars a new ecclesiastical empire began. To detail this series of events belongs to the modern historian, and it cannot form part of my lectures; but I now allude to the subject in order to indicate how far over Europe the influence of Rome has spread. The Saxons, the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Hungarians, in time, submitted to the religion of Germany and of Rome; so also did the remote Gaels and Irish. Russia alone, of the great northern nations, received Christianity from Constantinople, and thus became imbued with a Greek rather than an Italian influence. With religion first language, and at length something of literature, also spread: so that the Latin culture, which had fixed itself in Spain and France by conquest, found its way into Germany and Saxon England, into Scandinavia, into Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, by means of religion. Russia was very late in entering the circle of European politics, and, at last, perhaps, has received more of its knowledge from Germany and France than from its Greek connection. Indirectly, therefore, all Europe (except Greece proper) has been largely affected by Roman influences.

To come home on this subject, our language is exceedingly imbued with

Latin words, and still more with Norman, which is the Latin as corrupted in France by the old Gauls and by the invading Germans. Our religion, and in great measure our literary culture, at first came from Papal Rome. It surely belongs to an enlightened curiosity to acquaint ourselves with the history of that remarkable nation, which two thousand years ago exerted so powerful an activity for good or evil over Western and Southern Europe.

But there are, besides, analogies and contrasts between the histories of England and of Rome, which from us deserve a steady contemplation: and I propose, in this lecture, to run over several lines of thought, which are far from exhausting this subject. In monarchical England and in republican Rome there was alike a hard struggle for liberty on the part of the commonalty. The causes of oppression and the modes of gradual extrication were diverse; yet there was this in common, that ultimate benefit was obtained by a series of smaller constitutional victories and by the establishment of precedents. Each nation occasionally revolted, yet even successful revolt did not always fulfil expectation. For any decisive success of the moving party generally caused a reflux towards the Conservatives; and as the victory of our Parliament over Charles I. yielded no visible advantage to liberty, so in Rome it is striking to see how little fruit comes of the most complete triumph ever won by the plebeians over the patricians, that which is known as the overthrow of the Decemvirate.

It has been often observed that as in England the power of the *purses* is that which enabled the parliaments to wring out of our monarchs the securities found necessary to liberty; so in Rome, the great weapon of the commonalty was that of *refusing to enlist* in the army. It was a passive resistance in each case; and experience seems to show that this is the only appropriate mode of constitutional warfare. A weapon must not be too sharp if it is to be used against authorities which we desire to regulate not to overturn. The most violent of the early Roman measures was *SECESSION*, or a threat of emigration in mass.

Constitutional history is not a subject into which it has hitherto been thought desirable carefully to initiate ladies. I confess it is rather a masculine topic: more feminine, however, than stories of battles, and tournaments, and sieges. To me it appears that as man has been justly called by Aristotle a *political animal*, not to understand his political capacities and achievements is to remain ignorant of one large part of his moral nature; those who approve of moral philosophy as a feminine study will not disapprove of the *less* abstract subject of constitutional history. But I am here disposed to advocate what some will think an extreme doctrine; namely, that our boys need a more feminine, and our young ladies a more masculine culture. If, in the education of boys, we attended more to that delicacy and purity of mind, that refinement and gentleness of manners which is appropriate to women, as well as to that cultivation of fine taste which we do appreciate, I believe that our young men would be more virtuous and not less manly. And if, in the education of young ladies, we thought less exclusively of that refinement which they have by nature, and were more anxious to give them that strength of understanding and breadth of view which few women have by nature, I think that the sex would become neither less fair, nor less gentle, nor less womanly, but, on the other hand, there would be less danger of their gentleness or fervour degenerating into weakness.

After this digression I admit that in all the earlier history of Rome, its constitution is rather undesirably predominant. Under the kings of Rome we open with an account of the several races whose fusion at length formed the Roman people; and already at that time constitutional questions must occupy us. For the greater part of the early period our accounts of the wars and foreign relations of Rome are untrustworthy, and the internal battle of the constitution is unavoidably our main subject. To those who intelligently attend, I believe it will always be found very interesting: but here, as elsewhere, those who desire to be rewarded must earn their delight by exertion. Unless we form clear ideas in the mind, study to complete our picture, fix it thus in our imagination, and familiarize ourselves with that of which we are hearing; and at the same time learn to sympathize with the sufferings and efforts of the oppressed commonalty;—many things may be judged dry and tedious, which to greater diligence are agreeable as well as instructive. Still, it must be confessed, that here, as in all the darker and more distant portions of history, we know less of individual men than of masses of men, orders, parties;—we cannot confidently draw biographical sketches;—we do not often know with certainty the moral qualities of the men who are prominent in the political movements; so that our sympathies are little drawn out by individuals. But it is only in the early times that we have to complain of this. Moreover, even then already the peculiar character of the Roman develops itself; so that when individuals have no deep mark, there is interest in studying the nation collectively.

This, indeed, also we may remark in common between the Romans and the English,—perhaps, however, not peculiar to them,—that no sooner is their own liberty consolidated than they enter upon a continuous career of conquest. We must regard this as a natural consequence of the strength which a nation acquires from internal freedom and good laws. It is melancholy to discover, that the first use which every free nation makes of its new strength, is to destroy and oppress the freedom of others. If conquerors proved able to impart their own freedom to the conquered nations, all regret for the violences of conquest would soon be swallowed up in its benefits. But it needs a very high morality for a free nation to raise its subjects into its equals; and the problem is not yet solved for us.

The era at which English liberty was finally established against the tyranny of the Crown, is the great Revolution which brought William of Orange to the throne. In the two preceding reigns, the foreign power of England had been at the lowest; but with William began our inveterate series of wars with France, which lasted for a century and a quarter; in the course of which, considerable portions of our vast colonial empire were conquered. In the same period, by wars which were partly kindled by French enmity, a company of English merchants conquered nearly the whole of India. Such is the astonishing and anxious result of the power which the security of industry and energies of liberty have wrought out in our nation.

The era at which the Roman commonalty established the adequate securities

for its freedom, is that of the plebeian consulate; nearly 365 years B.C.; when it was enacted that, of the two chief yearly magistrates, one should always be a plebeian. Henceforward, the interests of the plebeians were constantly looked after, their grievances were gradually redressed, the two orders were fully amalgamated, and a vast increase of internal strength rapidly ensued. The immediate result was, that, instead of the equal alliance which Rome had formerly had with her Latin brethren, she disdainfully spurned their claims of equality, and subdued Latium after a fierce and doubtful struggle. Upon this followed in steady succession, with enormous effort and horrible bloodshed, the conquest of all Italy. The Roman commonalty obtained a more and more secure and satisfactory social position, until the state became prepared for its dreadful contests with Carthage, out of which it came politically victorious, but fatally deranged in its social and moral interests.

In modern times, great and successful wars are apt to leave behind them (like the wounds endured by a conquering champion) great national debts; evils embarrassing for the present, and exceedingly threatening for the future. The Romans had not invented this device, and in no case could have carried it out far. But their war with Hannibal left on them a permanent crippling in the ruin of their small proprietors, who had been the moral strength of the nation. These were the true commonalty of Rome; the upright, independent, simple plebeian freeholders, who possessed enough and to spare, on the condition of regular industry. Their votes made them the real sovereigns of the state in any matters affecting the general welfare; and their wishes and influence were for peace, order, and good government. Hannibal for seventeen years was master of the field in Italy. Such an enemy, and the perpetual demand for men to fill the ranks, were very disastrous to the Roman farmers: one vast number was slain, another was hopelessly ruined; and, when the victory was won, the Rome which remained to enjoy it was no longer the same Rome as had commenced the war. The rustic middle class of pure Romans was enormously lessened. Over all Italy, wherever the population had sympathized with Hannibal, the incensed conquerors confiscated large masses of land to the state, and ejected the free Italian proprietors; so that, instead of being in the hands of freehold cultivators, Italy was very disproportionately occupied by domain land, nominally belonging to the state, but practically held in masses by the aristocracy, and tended by slaves. To this calamitous result of the second Punic war the later disorders of the Roman state can be mainly traced. How instructive it is for free and powerful nations to learn that the evils which war inflicts upon them are not to be measured by the immediate visible losses! Internal disorganization is often a more fatal consequence than carnage and prodigious waste of substance.

One great event has profitably arrested victorious England, to which there is nothing similar in the Roman history: (let us hope that it will save us from the fate of Rome!)—I mean, the successful revolt of our American colonies. Sir James Mackintosh has called this the greatest event in modern history: probably because he regarded it as determining that the New World shall be filled with great Republics; as also, because it so vehemently contributed towards the first French Revolution. But I here regard it in another point of view, viz., as raising up a second great naval power by the side of England, and, by its example to our other colonies, making it morally impossible for us to turn our empire into a despotism. If England had been victorious in the American war, she might, indeed, afterwards have conceded all that was under contest, as we have done in the case of Canada. But we probably should not: rather, we should have tried to enforce our rule, we should have been more rigorous towards the other colonies, and have set up a great despotism: we must have kept powerful armies for this purpose, with great danger to our own liberties at home. A dread of this heightened the sympathies of our great Whig party with the colonists during the struggle, and greatly aided the ultimate result. We may now regard it as happily decided, that England is *not*, like Rome, to lose her liberties through her conquests.

One Roman war there is, in its moral aspects, not dissimilar to this American war of England. I mean the war against the Italian allies (B. C. 90), who demanded equal civil rights with the Romans. The Italians were at that time virtually but one nation with Rome. They had (except Etruria) the same language, religion, manners, sentiments, capacities. They were in no respect inferior, and their demand was as just to make as it would have been wise to concede. But the concession had been delayed by selfishness so long that the Italians at last demanded it with arms in their hands; and then the Romans were too proud to concede until they should have disarmed the revolted. Every thing was granted to those who had, as yet, stood aloof;—a confession that Rome knew her cause to be bad. Then ensued a deadly war, in which 180,000 men of both sides are estimated to have perished, until at last the scale turned in favour of Rome. After this the allies, with some exceptions, were admitted to the franchise which they had claimed, and sadly late attempts were made to heal the ravages of Italy.

If the Italian allies had made a successful resistance (a supposition nowise extreme), they would have established a second or northern Italian Republic in Corfinium, with two yearly consuls, similar to those in Rome; for, in fact, they had already so organized themselves. Had such a power existed for but one generation, it would have forced Rome to enfranchise Sicily and Spain and the Carthaginian territory, which they called Africa, as the sole way to repair her strength; and even if (as is almost certain) the two Republics had afterwards coalesced by conquest or by goodwill, the temporary success of the Italians might nevertheless have saved freedom. But (alas for Europe, and for Rome herself!) the inveterate military system, backed by long-experienced wily policy, prevailed. Freedom could nowhere stand against Rome, and therefore it did not long stand within Rome.

While, in this respect, the fortunes of England have been happily different, it is of interest to compare our British Empire in India with that which the Romans erected beyond Italy. The original circumstances of the conquerors were exceedingly contrasted. The Romans rested on the territorial basis of Italy, and had a large homogeneous population of native soldiers. The East India Company had a few fortified factories for the purposes of trade on Indian

soil—no sovereignty anywhere to fall back upon—no troops but mercenaries, and for their support no appropriate funds. Nearly all the empire of republican Rome was conquered by strictly Italian soldiers; but British India has been conquered chiefly with Indian sepoys, acting under British officers. In a military point of view, the English victories in India may appear more marvellous than those of Rome; but such comparisons are superficial and rather uninteresting. It is more to the purpose to consider the policy pursued during war and after conquest.

In each case the conqueror owed at least as much to policy (which was deep and versatile, often cunning or treacherous) as to the force of arms. As the English gained help from petty chieftains in India and from Indian soldiers, and by a series of alliances won battles, and from victories formed new alliances, so did the Romans abroad. Thus, when they first set foot on Greece against the Macedonian power, they entered into league with the Ætolians, who were hostile to Macedon. They used the Ætolian force as long as it proved convenient. They affected to liberate Southern Greece from Philip, the Macedonian King, and by such arts succeeded in crippling him. They farther got aid from the Rhodians and from Attalus, King of Pergamus, against Antiochus the Great, who crossed from Asia to oppose them: but no sooner had they repelled him than they neglected, insulted, and crushed the Ætolians, not without pleasure to Philip and to the southern Greeks, who were, in their turn, presently attacked; and, in time, the Rhodians also, and all who were foolish enough to expect from Rome any other gratitude than that which Polyphemus promised Ulysses—viz., to reserve him for his last mouthful.

Such a description of Roman conquest is very revolting; but there is one consideration that a little softens it, as in the parallel case of England, or is at least instructive—namely, such conquest would have been impossible, had not the conquerors possessed *one* great virtue in which the conquered were deficient; viz., mutual trust and mutual faithfulness. The Greeks, as the nations of India in modern times, were full of mutual distrust, and with too good reason. I will not venture to enter into the comparison how much less treacherous towards the foreigner has been our course in India than that of Rome; but it is clear that the military strength of every people depends far more on having a single idea, and a full devotion to that idea, than on all other virtues; and, though this is no virtue in itself, it generally gives rise to a thousand virtues in detail through the heroism which self-abandonment inspires.

After their first successes against a small power, the Romans generally inflicted cruel slaughters or expatriations. In theory, the State was generally left free and independent, only *protected* by Rome. It had its own laws, and constitution, and native magistrates, as before; and Rome seemed still to stand outside. Yet, in fact, the magistrates dared to do nothing without the approval of a Roman commissioner. In this way the nation served apprenticeship of obedience, until all the men were dead who remembered freedom; after which, as soon as convenient, the country was absorbed in a Roman province. This implied that no natives were henceforth to bear rule, but only Roman officers. Martial dominion was made the permanent system. The civil judge had at his side licitors with axes, to tell plainly that the life of every provincial was at his mercy. Native law was annihilated. The business of the Roman governor generally was to enrich himself in his year of office; a task not difficult in a wealthy province, by accepting bribes in the infinite mass of lawsuits which this system brought before him. So infernal a system of oppression, under the mask of law, was perhaps never before invented by civilized conquerors.

If we compare this with our proceedings in British India, we find many similarities, with many happy advantages on our side. We never disgrace our conquests by personal cruelties or resentments against classes of men. We have generally looked out for princes of a conquered dynasty, not to imprison or kill them, but to give them a princely salary and royal title; and we have generally taken pains not to reduce our enemy to despair. Our military system is subordinated to the civilian; nor does the judge make the law at pleasure; nor have we ever forced English law upon the natives. If our rule is in fact oppressive, it is not through individual wickedness so much as by its intrinsic unsuitability. Nevertheless, with us, as with the Romans, the states which are *protected*, whether they have been enemies or allies, infallibly lose their independence, and are at length absorbed in the great empire. Loyalty then becomes an impossible virtue, and patriotism can take no form but that of rebellion; which are evils of first-rate magnitude.

But when the conquered state was at all considerable, the Romans often adopted the intermediate step of breaking it up into smaller states. Thus, after their first victories over Philip of Macedon, they were satisfied with stripping him of all his extraneous resources, so as to shut him up into his own kingdom. Meanwhile, they devoured the rest of Greece in detail. When this had been done, they entered into a new war with his son Perseus; and, after conquering him, divided his kingdom into four parts or tetrarchies, which were now *protected* in nominal independence, but with a jealous prohibition of any common plans and counsels. About two generations later came the final throwing off of the mask, and the absorbing of all four into the Roman Province of Macedonia. It is impossible for an Englishman to avoid thinking how we have subdivided the kingdom of our ally, Runjeet Singh, because we are not yet ready to incorporate it with our empire. But the instructiveness of the comparison is this: it teaches us to judge Roman statesmen rather more mildly. I freely avow, that to me the rise and advance of Roman empire appears the direst calamity which ancient Europe ever endured; and I regard the admiration lavished on the civilization which their arms extended as a gross and pernicious blunder. The individual statesmen of Rome were often cruel and brutal towards foreigners; so that on all sides I can have no sympathy with the conquering Roman. Nevertheless, I believe the great and unmanageable evil was in the conquest itself, the conquest of nations that have a homesprung civilization by uncongenial foreigners; and if, instead of Metelluses, Scipios, Catos, and Mariuses, men like Lord Lake, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Auckland, Lord Hardinge had been at the head of the Roman empire, though many details of cruelty would have been avoided, yet (I suspect) the general series of events would not have been very different. Pretences for new and new wars would not have been wanting, and would have been grasped at. The steps of policy which strike us as so insidious

would often have been adopted by the most humane of our statesmen as much as by the most heartless of the Romans; and the oppression of the people, with or without our will, would have continued, as it did, until, by the miseries of several generations, all that was native, and racy, and prominent in the character of the conquered people had been violently ground away. After they had lost manliness, and bravery, and personal dignity, they would at last begin to thrive and fatten like tamed cattle. Such was the civilization which Rome bestowed, until the admiring emperor was able to point at the marks of prosperity and physical abundance.

The problem of our empire is not yet solved; nor will any great light be shed on the question, What ought we now to do? by considering what the Romans did, or did not. This would be pedantic, even in a practical argument of politics; and quite absurd to enter upon in a lecture to ladies. But, on the other hand, I think much light is shed on the question, What ought we to wish for? by studying this history: and this is a very main point, and, I may add, one in which women are far from being unimportant. Men devise how an end is to be brought about; women in no small degree dictate to men to what ends they shall aspire. But I pass to the matter itself before us. No history was ever better adapted than that of Rome to show us the undesirableness of conquest to the people that conquers, and to rid us of that false patriotism which desires aggrandizement for our country at any price and in any cause. How unbridled ambition at last plunges itself into dangers that overpower it is exhibited by many thrilling tales of history; but the story of Rome shows peculiarly the evil of success. She did not fall, like Athens, by failing in distant and splendid enterprises, but by allowing a general to form armies strong enough to subdue France. These same armies afterwards overpowered Italy, and made freedom for ever impossible. The cruelty of the early Cæsars rooted out the Roman aristocracy: little remained of pure Roman blood in the plebeian multitude. For whom then had Rome conquered? For a series of emperors and their German guard. A despotism was thus erected which destroyed genius and steadily cut away all the roots of national greatness, until the decay had gone so far that the irruptions of northern barbarians were irrepressible.

We hear a great deal, and justly, about false religion; but I think we need to hear a little more about false patriotism. I would on no account disparage military merit, where the cause is assumed to be a good one. But I cannot admit that it is the part of a good or wise man to wish success to his country, where he is convinced that the cause is bad, or to wish to her such successes as shall tempt her to insolence and injustice. For our country we must desire a real welfare, a true happiness, not a hollow and deceitful prosperity. But as to an individual nothing is more dangerous than to be left without controul, so to a state it is not good to be too powerful. There are many who think it patriotic to deprecate the growth of other countries, who grudge that the United States should be powerful on the Atlantic, or Russia in the extreme East, lest either interfere with the supremacy of England. I reply: oh, that British power had more restraint in Asia! There is no permanence for a country which has no antagonism. The true patriot will desire that his country may not only be just, but be constrained to be; for states are not more virtuous than individuals, but less so; and we cannot individually bear the permission to be rude and violent. We will then not wish for Roman aggrandizement, Roman isolation, Roman decay and ruin; but to be good as well as great, just as well as splendid, to be one powerful state among many sisters; and, if so it may be, wish to aid others onward into like strength, being persuaded that in states, as in individuals, selfishness is folly, and prudence needs not to be selfish. Let us hope to approximate to a time when we shall not love Country less, but Mankind more, so that as County interests are swallowed up in those of the Nation, so at length National interests may be absorbed and comprized in those of Man.

SONG.

Cold heart, I heed not thee;
Cold heart, judge thou not me;
Soon, soon, must I depart:
Farewell, farewell, cold heart!
Farewell, farewell!

As in the lonely vale
Fadeth the windflower pale,
Where bee nor butterfly
Mourns when her blossoms die,
In her sweet cell,

So none will mourn for me,
When from lone earth I flee;
So, too, must I depart:
Farewell, farewell, cold heart!
Farewell, farewell!

M.

PETER FOLGER.

A YANKEE SKETCH.

In the year 1840 I spent a few months in the pleasant island town of Sherburne, in the state of Massachusetts, making my home at a second-rate hotel called "The American Eagle." The landlord was a quiet, good-natured, stupid sort of man, wholly given over to sleep and tobacco, and disposed to treat his house as if it were a huge Connecticut clock, to be wound up once a week, and then left to manage itself. At the time of my visit, however, the old clock was about to assume a new face, and there was to be a change of hands. For just at that time there happened to come to the "Eagle" as a guest a Yankee named Peter Folger.

Peter was a tall, thin, broad-shouldered man, with long, hollow cheeks, high, precipice sort of forehead, large aggressive nose, fierce grey eyes, and the mouth,

teeth (and appetite) of a shark. Their knife and fork exercise was a study, even in America. Yet it never interfered, in the least, with the exercise of his tongue. And such a tongue! It reminds me yet of a cotton-mill. Not that Peter was anything of a bore. Far from it. He talked incessantly, to be sure, but he always talked to some purpose. His keen eye darted at once into the heart of a thing. He never swam long on the surface, but dived to the bottom at once, and staid there as long as he could hold his breath, and then came up, like a whale, to spout. Peter could not only talk, he could do. He could do anything. He was "Jack of all trades," and, despite the old saw, good at all. He could be carpenter, smith, tailor, sweep, painter, cook, architect, shoemaker, parson, at will. He was a good boxer, a first-rate swimmer, a crack whip, a famous conjuror, a noted mesmerist, and a—dead shot.

Before Peter had been at "The American Eagle" an hour, he saw that it needed a master. Before he had been there twenty-four hours he resolved to be that master. To this end, the morning after his arrival (having first prepared himself for his work by a regular American breakfast of baked beans and pork) he pulled the bell-rope to order up the—landlord. The rope broke, and Peter turned a somersault over his chair, which would have drawn cheers from Widdicomb. He then commenced an entirely original air upon the pine floor, with the tongs and the poker. By this means he at last raised the maid, who, on receiving her orders, vanished like a shadow. In about an hour (by the Eagle clock) up came the landlord, like the ace of trumps, and began to grumble like the deuce.

What had he done to be called up at that time in the morning. He had slept in that house for forty years, and never been disturbed in this way before. He wouldn't stand it. If people didn't like the "American Eagle," they might go to the "British Lion," or, for aught he cared, to the "Mexican Ass."

"There, old fellow, now you keep quiet," said Peter, "while I talk to you like a father! Now, then, don't go to sleep, but button back your eyelids till I've done with you. Just look here! I want to drive a bargain with you. What'll you take for the American Eagle?"

Now, be it known that no unburied Yankee is proof against the word bargain. It goes like an arrow to every American heart. Not even the somnolent nature of our landlord could resist it; for the moment the word was spoken his little elephant eyes began to twinkle, and his old brain to revolve as if he had experienced an electric shock.

"What'll you take for the American Eagle?"

Though it was like asking the old fellow what he would take for his soul, or his wife, or his pipe, he addressed himself to the question with all his remaining faculty, and for about half an hour seemed to be wholly absorbed by it. During his meditations, Peter paced to and fro the room with the restlessness of a caged lion.

At last, the labouring pipe having quite exhausted itself, the landlord took the hint, and beckoning Peter to a chair, said to him that if he had any proposition to make concerning "The American Eagle," he might "go a-head with it."

Peter obeyed the summons, and, in a few words, not difficult even for our host to understand, set forth that as the aforesaid "Eagle" was evidently going to the dogs, he, Peter Folger, from the enterprising port of Damariscotta, was prepared to take it into his own keeping, and, in less than a twelvemonth, transform it into just the smartest bird that ever presented a bill.

The landlord demurred in general terms to Peter's scheme; insisted, in the face of all evidence, that the "Eagle" was in a high state of preservation; and swore, by his very pipe, that it had been as good to him as a raven for the last forty years.

Peter, asserting all such talk to be "gammon," and appealing to the empty coffee-room, the broken bell-rope, and even the sprawling chair, for proof, proceeded with a series of calculations and guesses, which so impressed the landlord with a sense of shrewdness and power, that he suddenly broke in upon his guest with the startling question:—

"What'll you give for the American Eagle?"

Now commenced the tug of war. Behold these two Yankees, disciples, both, of "THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR," as they stand, in the utmost attitude of trade, and seek each to get to the windward of the other. They shake their heads; seize each other by the button; snap their eyes; whistle; whittle; make curious passes, like a brace of mesmerists; draw in their breath; discharge it again; puff, pant, perspire; until, at last (as was certain from the first) the vanquished landlord sinks back into his chair a used-up man, and the conqueror, making a bow to the company, consisting of myself and the cat, announces himself to the surprise of us both, and to the evident dismay of the cat, "GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN EAGLE."

The old landlord disappeared at once and for ever, and Peter assumed his place.

Such a ringing of bells (for bells now rung that never rung before), such a rattling of crockery, quarrelling of pots and kettles, flying of dust and feathers, hammering of nails, smashing of glass, barking of dogs, throttling of kittens, never was heard of. The old "Eagle" screamed with agony. The neighbouring streets were crowded, from morning till night, for a week, with swarms of black and white vagabonds, who could be dispersed only by a free distribution of old washstands and bedposts, varied by periodical discharges of hot water and ashes. But out of all this chaos soon came perfect order; and in a month from Peter's inauguration the new house was one of "the best in the country," and Peter was the Prince of Publicans.

All this happened ten years ago, and we have our eye on Peter yet. But he is no longer landlord of the "American Eagle" at Sherburne. The same Yankee activity that placed him in that position, has since then carried him triumphantly through a series of changes all leading upward; and Peter is now a great man and a member of Congress. We shall, probably, soon see him as a candidate for the Presidency; and if so, everybody else may as well make way for him, and come down, like David Crockett's 'coon; for Peter, as we said before, is a dead shot.

Matters of Fact.

COTTON CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following is the total cotton crop of the United States for the year 1850 and the three previous years:—

Total Crop of 1850	bales 2,096,706
" Crop of 1849	" 2,728,596
" Crop of 1848	" 2,347,634
" Crop of 1847	" 1,778,651
Decrease from last year ..	" 631,890
Decrease from year before ..	" 250,928

GROWTH.

Crop 1823-4 ..	509,158 bbls	Crop 1837-8 ..	1,801,497 bbls
" 1824-5 ..	569,240 "	" 1838-9 ..	1,360,532 "
" 1825-6 ..	720,027 "	" 1839-40 ..	2,177,835 "
" 1826-7 ..	957,281 "	" 1840-1 ..	1,634,945 "
" 1827-8 ..	720,593 "	" 1841-2 ..	1,683,574 "
" 1828-9 ..	857,744 "	" 1842-3 ..	2,378,875 "
" 1829-30 ..	976,845 "	" 1843-4 ..	2,030,409 "
" 1830-1 ..	1,038,848 "	" 1844-5 ..	2,394,503 "
" 1831-2 ..	987,477 "	" 1845-6 ..	2,100,637 "
" 1832-3 ..	1,070,438 "	" 1846-7 ..	1,778,651 "
" 1833-4 ..	1,205,394 "	" 1847-8 ..	2,347,634 "
" 1834-5 ..	1,254,328 "	" 1848-9 ..	2,728,596 "
" 1835-6 ..	1,360,725 "	" 1849-50 ..	2,096,706 "
" 1836-7 ..	1,422,930 "		

CONSUMPTION.

Total crop of the United States, as above stated..... bales, 2,096,706

Add—

Stocks on hand at the commencement

of the year, 1st Sept., 1849:—

In the Southern Ports 72,468 |

In the Northern Ports 82,285 |

154,753

Makes a supply of 2,251,459 |

Deduct therefrom—

The export to foreign ports 1,590,155

Less, foreign included.... 1,341

1,588,814

Stocks on hand, 1st Sept., 1850:—

In the Southern Ports.... 91,754

In the Northern Ports.... 76,176

167,930

Burnt at New York and Charleston

6,946

1,763,690

Taken for home use bales 487,769 |

QUANTITY CONSUMED BY AND IN THE HANDS OF MANUFACTURERS.

1849-50.....	487,769 bales.	1837-8	246,063 bales.
1848-9	518,039 "	1836-7	222,540 "
1847-8	531,772 "	1835-6	236,733 "
1846-7	427,967 "	1834-5	216,888 "
1845-6	422,597 "	1833-4	196,413 "
1844-5	389,006 "	1832-3	194,412 "
1843-4	346,744 "	1831-2	173,800 "
1842-3	325,129 "	1830-1	182,142 "
1841-2	267,850 "	1829-30	126,512 "
1840-1	297,288 "	1828-9	118,853 "
1839-40	295,193 "	1827-8	120,593 "
1838-9	276,018 "	1826-7	149,566 "

In our last annual statement the estimate of cotton taken for consumption for the year ending September 1, 1849, in the states south and west of Virginia, was probably over-estimated—the following for the past year is believed to be very nearly correct. The number of mills has increased since that time, and is still increasing, but the quantity consumed, as far as we can learn, is, owing to high prices, &c., less than the year previous. The following estimate is from a judicious and careful observer at the South of the quantity so consumed, and not included in the receipts. Thus in—

	Mills.	Spindles.	Quantity consumed.
North Carolina	30	..	20,000 bales.
South Carolina	16	36,500	15,000 "
Georgia	36	51,150	27,000 "
Alabama	11	16,960	6,000 "
Tennessee	30	36,000	12,000 "
On the Ohio, &c.	30	102,220	37,500 "
Total to Sept. 1, 1850			107,500 bales.
" 1849			110,000 "
" 1848			75,000 "

To which should be added the stocks in the interior towns, the quantity burnt in the interior, and that lost on its way to market; these, added to the crop as given above, received at the shipping ports, will show very nearly the amount raised in the United States the past season—say, in round numbers, 2,212,000 bales.

GAS COMPANIES AND THEIR PRICES.—A parliamentary return has just been printed, containing a statement from every gas company established by act of Parliament in the United Kingdom, of the several acts of Parliament under which they have been established, the rates per 1000 cubic feet at which they have supplied gas in each of the ten years since 1846 to 1849, and the average price of the coals used in each year for the same period; also the amount of fixed capital invested by each gas company, and the rate per cent. of dividend on the shares in each year since that date. The return was obtained by Mr. Hume, who obtained a similar return in 1847. It relates to 120 companies in England and Wales; nine in Scotland; and six in Ireland. The number in London is fifteen. A few figures relating to some of the London companies will show the nature and value of the information thus collected. It appears that the British Gas Company charged six shillings

per 1000 cubic feet during the three years above-mentioned, their coals costing them in the first year 17s. 3d., in the second year 16s., and in the third year 15s. 3d. per ton. The Chartered Company varied from 7s. to 6s. per 1000 cubic feet during the same period, their coals costing them from 15s. 4d., to 18s. 6d. per ton. The City of London charged the same price, the maximum cost of their coals being 17s. 4d. The remainder of the London companies exhibit much the same averages, with the exception of the London and the Western, the former varying from 8s. to 6s. per 1000 cubic feet, their coals costing them from 15s. 3d. to 16s. 1d. per ton; and the latter being fixed at 8s. per 1000 cubic feet.

AMOUNT AND COST OF THE ROYAL NAVAL STEAM-POWER OF ENGLAND.—The total number of steam-vessels, of all classes and sizes, propelled by paddle-wheels and screws, belonging to the royal navy of England, is 164, and the total number of horse-power of this formidable fleet of steamers is 44,500, of which nearly 40,500 is actually fitted, or being fitted, to the vessels. The total cost of the machinery alone may be fairly estimated at nearly three millions and a half sterling.—*United Service Gazette.*

DECREASE OF CRIME IN LEEDS.—From some criminal returns just issued in Leeds, it is shown that the number of persons apprehended by the police of that borough during 1849 was smaller than in any previous year since 1822, with the exception of the year 1824, and that the decrease since 1836 has been exceedingly great. During this time, also, there has been a constant and large increase in the population, which numbered, in 1821, 83,796 persons; in 1831, 123,393; and, in 1841, 151,874. The *Leeds Mercury* points out that, if the population of the borough should have increased at the same rate to 1849, it would now be 179,146; and if the number of prisoners had kept pace with the population since 1823, it would have been 3667 in 1849, whereas the actual number was only 1830, or just about half the proportion of crime to population in 1823.

REMOVAL OF PAUPERS.—From a parliamentary paper recently issued, it appears that the number of orders of removal granted by justices of the peace in England and Wales for each of the last five years was 51,941, of which 29,079 were Irish paupers, and 1464 were Scotch paupers removed. The number of paupers removed last year under the orders of justices was 13,867. During the five years there were 27,147 paupers—chiefly Irish—removed from Liverpool alone.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS IN IRELAND.—The total number of causes pending in the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland on the 20th of April, 1850, was 60, and the total number of rules taken in the same, 1630. The bills of cost taxed in 1848, were 44; 1849, 46; and in the year ending the 20th of April, 1850, 52—total, 142. The total number of officers (exclusive of proctors) in all the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland is 123, and the fees received by them in each of the three years ending the 1st of April, 1848, 1849, and 1850, was respectively £14,267, £12,513, and £11,728.

THE WAY TO CALIFORNIA.—The distance from Panama to San Francisco is about 3500 miles. The isthmus of Panama, where it is at present usually crossed, is about seventy miles in length, viz., fifty miles from Chagres to Cruces, and twenty miles from Cruces to Panama. The former distance is performed in boats in about forty-eight hours, the latter on the backs of mules in ten hours. A boat from Chagres to Cruces costs about £10, and a mule from Cruces to Panama costs about £2. Mazatlan, Acapulco, and San Blas are the principal ports touched at by the Californian and Panama steamers. The highest price for a passage to California from England, by way of the isthmus—that is, as saloon passenger in steamers—is rather over £120. The lowest sum, as fore-cabin passenger, provided he has a companion to share the boat passage from Chagres to Cruces, is rather under £70.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Returns.)

In the week ending last Saturday the deaths registered in the metropolitan districts amounted to 981. Taking for comparison the deaths of ten corresponding weeks in the years 1840-9, the weekly average is 1023, and this, with a certain proportion added for increase of population, becomes 1116; the return of last week is, therefore, favourable, showing a decrease of 135. The present account is for the last week of the quarter, and it exhibits a larger contingent than usual of violent and sudden deaths, in consequence of a number of coroners' cases in arrears being now entered in the register books. Of 71 deaths by "violence," 7 are ascribed to poison, 5 to burns and scalds, 13 to hanging and suffocation, 20 to drowning, 26 to fractures, wounds, and other injury. Six children were suffocated in bed by overlaying; another by food in a ravenous attempt to swallow it. A young man of 18 years committed suicide by loading an Italian iron and discharging it over his stomach. On the 12th of September, at 4, Goulston-court, Whitechapel, the daughter of a labourer, aged 4 years, died, according to the return of the jury, a "natural death," which, however, is further described in the verdict as "brought on by want and privation of necessities." On the 27th of September, at the Almshouses, Clapton, the widow of a gardener died from "age and decay," after a life of 103 years. It is mentioned by Mr. Steib, that she had been an inmate of one of Bishop Wood's Almshouses for 34 years, and enjoyed good health till within a fortnight previous to her death. She also retained her mental faculties to the last.

Last week the deaths enumerated in the zymotic or epidemic class of diseases were 198. This is a lower number than in any corresponding week since that of 1846, when there were only 157. In the same weeks of the three subsequent years, the deaths in this class were

340, 395, and (in 1849) 782. The epidemics incident to childhood prevail less fatally than usual, with the exception of hooping-cough, the mortality from which amounted to 28 deaths, and is about the average. Diarrhoea was fatal in 57 cases, but it does not exceed the average of this period. From cholera 4 deaths were registered. The number of births registered were 750 males, and 723 females; total, 1473.

	Ten Weeks of 1839-49.	Week of 1850.
Zymotic Diseases ..	2927	198
Dropsy, Cancer, and other diseases of uncertain or variable seat ..	456	47
Tubercular Diseases ..	1775	176
Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses ..	1145	136
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels ..	288	44
Diseases of the Lungs and of the other Organs of Respiration ..	984	99
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion ..	706	61
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c. ..	68	18
Childbirth, diseases of the Uterus, &c. ..	105	6
Rheumatism, diseases of the Bones, Joints, &c. ..	53	16
Diseases of the Skin, Cellular Tissue, &c. ..	29	4
Malformations ..	216	36
Premature Birth and Debility ..	196	26
Atrophy ..	490	31
Sudden ..	218	29
Violence, Privation, Cold, and Intemperance ..	495	80
Total (including unspecified causes) ..	10,225	981

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

FRIDAY.

The dulness of last month has been succeeded by a slight movement in the English Funds during the present week. On Monday Consols opened at 96½ to 96¼, and on the following day they advanced an eighth. On Wednesday they opened at the same figure, but the news of the renewal of hostilities in Schleswig-Holstein caused a slight reaction, and Consols closed at the prices of Monday—96½ to 96¼. Yesterday the market was steady, with no alteration of prices. The fluctuations in the English Stock Market during the week have been as follows:—Consols, 96½ to 96¼; Exchequer Bills, 63s. to 66s. premium.

The foreign market has been rather dull since last week, with the exception of Wednesday, when a considerable amount of business was done, and prices showed a tendency upward. The list on Thursday showed transactions at the following rates:—Brazilian, New, 87½; Buenos Ayres, 58; Chilean Three per Cent., 63; Granada, 18½; Mexican, for account, 31½, 1, 1, and 1; Peruvian, 80½; Portuguese Four per Cent., 33½; Russian Five per Cent., 110½ and 1; the Four-and-a-Half per Cent., 97½; Spanish Five per Cent., for account, 18½; the Three per Cent., 38½; and Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cent., 91½.

The accounts of trade from the country are in the main favourable. The cotton market is still in an unsatisfactory state owing to the dearth of the raw material, and the iron districts are suffering from an opposite cause—the supply having gone far beyond the demand.

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, Oct. 4.

The arrivals of Foreign Wheat and Flour since Monday have been large, and a fair quantity of English has also arrived. The trade remains in a languid state, and only a small amount of business has been transacted at the decline we reported on Monday, of 1s. to 2s. on English; while the holders of Foreign refuse to accede to any reduction, except in the case of vessels requiring to be immediately discharged. With very moderate supplies of Barley, the trade is slow at former rates. The supplies of Oats are equal to the demand; there is no alteration to report in the value of this grain.

Arrivals from September 30 to October 4:—

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.	Flour.
Wheat ..	3990	—	24910	2030
Barley ..	1620	—	5898	—
Oats ..	2580	5340	9330	—

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Ct. Red ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. C. Con. An.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	—
3 p. C. An. 1726.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. C. Con. Ac.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	—
3 p. C. Cent. An.	—	—	—	—	—	—
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long An., 1860.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ind. St. 10½ p. ct.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto Bonds ..	87	87	87	87	87	—
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	66 p	66 p	66 p	63 p	63 p	—
Ditto, 500l.	63 p	63 p	—	63 p	—	—
Ditto, Small.	67 p	67 p	—	63 p	63 p	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Thursday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents. 94½	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc. 31½
Belgian Bds., 44 p. Ct. 91½	Neapolitan 5 per Cents. —
Brazilian 5 per Cents. —	Peruvian 4½ per Cent. 80½
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts. 58	Portuguese 5 per Cents. 33½
Chilian 3 per Cents. 63	— 4 per Cts. —
Equador Bonds ..	— Annuities ..
Danish 5 per Cents. —	Russian, 1822, 5 p. Cts. 110½
Dutch 2½ per Cents. —	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts. 18½
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris 92.5	— Passive ..
— 3 p. Cts., Oct. 3, 57.5	— Deferred ..

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